

UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY BENEFITS OF MUNICIPAL ARCHAEOLOGY
PROGRAMS

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UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY BENEFITS OF MUNICIPAL ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAMS

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Archaeology's ability to recover hidden information about the past creates many opportunities for engagement and collaboration with a variety of community groups. Within this context, few efforts at sustaining long-term relationships with the public have been as successful as the municipal archaeology programs found in Alexandria, VA; St. Augustine, FL; and Phoenix, AZ. For decades, these cities have successfully mixed the enthusiasm and curiosity of local residents, the professional and technical expertise of archaeologists, and the regulatory and structural support of local government in order to produce a variety of place-specific public benefits. Yet despite the sustained success of these programs, they have received surprisingly little attention in academic or professional circles.

This dissertation begins an exploration of the social environment that surrounds the municipal archaeology programs in these three cities. The data used are drawn from archival and published sources, as well as from interviews with the members of the public, the archaeologists, and the city staff most strongly associated with the three programs. The historical information brings to the forefront the role of the public in the process of creating each program. In each case, members of a concerned public were responsible for taking the first steps toward making archaeology a city priority, and none of these programs could have taken their current shape or lasted as long as they have without the continued input and participation of private citizens. It also explores how zoning and the development review procedures in each city have been

structured to allow for the recovery of archaeological information that would otherwise be destroyed during the construction process. The dissertation identifies some of the ways in which these archaeology programs have shaped other municipal amenities, such as local museums, parks, heritage walks or trails, and public art that interprets local history. This research contributes to the wider discourse linking archaeology and the public, and makes evident some of the ways in which the public benefits from having access to the archaeological process.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Douglas Ross Appler is a native of Hudson, New Hampshire. Growing up along the Merrimack River, surrounded by the former mill towns of Nashua, Manchester and Lowell, MA, he developed an interest in all things historic at an early age. This led him to pursue a B.A. in History and Political Science from Virginia Tech, which he completed in 1999. He subsequently continued to study at Virginia Tech, but enrolled in a graduate program that combined a Master's degree with two years of service in the Peace Corps. As a Peace Corps Volunteer, he worked as a municipal development volunteer in the town of Sacapulas, El Quiche, Guatemala. Shortly after returning to the United States, he completed his Master's degree in Urban and Regional Planning.

After his Master's degree was complete, Appler moved to Atlanta, Georgia, where he worked at the Atlanta Regional Commission. He managed a program for ARC called the "Community Planning Academy" which introduced newly appointed and elected local government officials to current best practices in the planning field. Partly as a result of this job, he decided that working as a practicing public sector planner would be an appropriate next career step. While in Atlanta, he took night classes in Historic Preservation at Georgia State University.

Appler then took a job as the County Planner in Madison County, just north of Athens, Georgia. Upon his predecessor's retirement, he became Planning and Zoning Director, and was able to lead the county to adopt a number of innovative ordinances. After working in Madison County for two years, he decided to return to graduate school to begin his doctoral studies in the fall of 2007.

To: KLJ

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I also owe a debt of gratitude to Carl Halbirt, the city archaeologist for St. Augustine, Florida, and to Todd Bostwick, the city archaeologist for Phoenix, Arizona. They were both very accommodating in fitting me into their schedules for multiple interviews, and both

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INTRODUCTION

The ground beneath America's cities contains a wealth of information about the individuals who shaped the nation. It holds the stories of Native American communities, of ethnic and religious groups, of the wealthy and of workers, and of industry and technology. But while a small number of the country's most significant archaeological sites have been protected as a result of their presence on federal land, facilitating their transformation into national monuments and national historical parks, the overwhelming majority of the nation's archaeological record is found on private property, beneath the fields, streets, and buildings that define the American landscape. Because this land is privately owned, most of these sites receive no protection from federal or state regulations. Barring some kind of extraordinary intervention, when private land is disturbed for development, whatever archaeological material the site may contain is lost forever.

In the United States, the authority to regulate private land use is generally given to local government, and the development review process established at that level dictates the procedures to be followed before ground disturbance may begin for new development. When archaeology is made a part of the review process, the information that lies beneath the ground's surface can be recovered prior to development and can be used by the community. Being able to access this information points to one reason why archaeologists should want to become more engaged with urban planners – a profession that typically plays a major role in the development review process. But there are reasons why planners should take an interest in what archaeology could offer to their communities as well.

This dissertation will demonstrate how three cities – Alexandria, Virginia; St. Augustine, Florida; and Phoenix, Arizona – use a particular form of public archaeology, described here as the “municipal archaeology program” to integrate archaeology into the development review process and set the stage for archaeology’s contribution to community activities more traditionally associated with the urban planning sphere. It will provide context for these programs by presenting their place within the broader history of public archaeology. It will explain the regulations and policies used by each city to connect archaeology to the development review process, and it will explore some of the tangible benefits that are enjoyed by the residents of these cities as a result of their archaeology programs.

While the term “municipal archaeology program” admittedly has a certain generic, one-size-fits-all ring to it, that impression belies its most important feature. These programs differ from traditional academic archaeology and from work that is carried out in response to federal or state cultural resource management laws because they operate under the auspices of local government. As products of local government, municipal archaeology programs are accountable to the public at its most democratic and easily accessible level. They are funded through the local budgeting process, and as such must justify their existence to elected representatives and demonstrate their value to the local citizenry. Archaeology and the local citizenry are thus integrated in an atypical fashion, placing the historical, political, and cultural identity of the local population at the top of the proverbial archaeological power structure, rather than at the bottom. Rather than treating this relationship as a difficulty to be tolerated, or as some kind of professional insult, the municipal archaeology programs discussed here have embraced their relationship with the public, creating a dynamic where the municipal archaeology program

benefits from interaction with local citizens in ways that may be totally foreign to other types of archaeology.

Because these programs are situated within local government, they are ideally positioned to contribute to other community endeavors as well. The information developed through municipal archaeology programs can be of great use for planners in many aspects of their own work as they seek to build better and more distinctive communities. And because archaeology is such a geographically specific form of research, in that the ability to recover information from a site is dependent upon its archaeological content being undisturbed and in the location where it was originally deposited, there is a tremendous incentive for archaeologists to establish a closer working relationship with those responsible for supervising or managing ground disturbing activities. The three cities identified here demonstrate just how beneficial the integration of archaeology and planning can be when those working within a city make a conscious effort to take advantage of what municipal archaeology programs have to offer.

What is a municipal archaeology program?

In addition to being situated within the context of local government, all of these municipal archaeology programs share three other traits. The first is that the city employs a professional archaeologist on the city payroll. Having a professional archaeologist as a member of the city staff, as opposed to having one on loan from a museum, or borrowing an archaeologist from the state historic preservation office for projects as they arise, is one defining characteristic of these programs. It allows someone with archaeological authority to become involved on a regular, day-to-day basis as decisions are made that affect the city's archaeological resources.

The second trait is the presence of at least one citizen-driven support organization for the archaeology program. Having an active base of supporters within the community allows the archaeology program to gain visibility and to strengthen the inter-personal networks that provide support to virtually any city program. In some cases the volunteer base also provides manual and skilled labor for the program, in addition to political support, when those needs arise.

The third trait is the presence of local development regulations or policies that require archaeological review as a part of the development review process. This provides not only a measure of protection for the city's archaeological resources when they are affected by development, by requiring background research, excavation, interpretation or some combination of the above, but also makes clear to the public that their city is truly a historic site, that the municipality cares enough about its resources to require their protection, and that they as citizens share some of the burden of protecting those resources. These three characteristics, and the situation of the programs within the local government context, have allowed archaeology to move beyond its traditional disciplinary boundaries and make significant contributions in other realms of municipal activity.

It is important to recognize, however, that these three cities only represent situations where archaeology has been successfully integrated with municipal activities, and where it has been embraced by members of the public. Not included in this dissertation are the stories of programs that have been terminated for various reasons, programs that have scaled-back or withdrawn from public engagement activities, or programs that use a different model, working through a state agency, for example, to achieve similar goals. Exploration of these other situations would also improve understanding of the form that future partnerships between archaeologists and the public might take. These examples were also selected because, as they

are all located within the United States, they share a certain legal framework that greatly facilitates efforts to make comparisons between programs. This approach should be seen as a way of starting the conversation about municipal archaeology programs, rather than as an effort to set boundaries or build barriers to future comparisons. The exploration of mechanisms used in other countries to facilitate the engagement of the public and the protection of archaeological resources is certainly of relevance to the topic discussed in this dissertation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

While the literature that specifically relates to the practice of public archaeology within local government is very narrow, the literature that sets the stage for understanding that relationship is quite broad. This review identifies the threads best able to tie these two concepts together. It begins by identifying the writings of three of the most well-established municipal archaeologists: Pam Cressey, Carl Halbirt and Todd Bostwick, focusing on works that describe their own programs to other archaeologists or to wider circles. It then discusses recent works related to the growth of the concept of public archaeology, helping the reader to better situate the activities of these municipal archaeologists within their broader field. This is followed by a description of the interrelated and overlapping nature of the ideas of public archaeology, public history, heritage and the cultural landscape. When brought together, these bodies of literature help to explain how the process of recovering and interpreting the information gained through archaeology can inform the place-based meaning and significance that residents attach to the local landscape. Because of these connections, the ability of archaeology to play a role in the place-making process is much greater than is generally realized. The review then explores the

literature that examines the integration of archaeological material with local community amenities.

The Work of Municipal Archaeologists

Archaeological practice has made significant efforts to integrate the public into its work in the last forty years, and that work has been chronicled by a number of key practitioners, but the unique character of archaeology that occurs within a municipal context has received very little attention. There are at least two reasons for this. The first is the relative scarcity of this kind of program. Although the number archaeologists employed by local governments in the United States is not yet known, it is not large. The number of cities with all three of the above criteria for municipal archaeology programs being met is smaller still. In addition, for those archaeologists who do work at this level, being responsible for a municipal archaeology program does not necessarily allow time for the publication of articles. City administrators are more likely to measure the archaeologist's success by his or her ability to consistently administer the city's archaeology regulations, to prevent or mediate politically challenging archaeological situations when they arise, and for their management skills than for the number of articles they write about their programs. This has created a need not only for in-depth exploration of these programs from an outside perspective, but also for comparative work, to see how different programs respond to similar issues. Given the degree of interest in community engagement displayed by many of those involved with the ongoing discussions over the uses of heritage, place, and identity, greater attention ought to be paid to what are possibly the best examples of citizen-led, locally oriented archaeology in the United States.

Of the three programs being profiled here, Alexandria has probably been most successful in communicating to archaeologists and to others in the heritage field the unique structure of the city's archaeology program. As a former president of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Pam Cressey has had a solid platform from which to share information about the city's archaeology program. One example, published ten years after Cressey began working in Alexandria, was an article titled "Community Archaeology in Alexandria, Virginia," in the National Trust for Historic Preservation newsletter *Conserve Neighborhoods* (Cressey 1987). The article explained some of the history of the city's program, described the types of projects that Cressey and the city's volunteers had undertaken, and briefly illustrated how the public participated in different aspects of the city's archaeology. Another example comes from 2005, when the Society for Historical Archaeology released its publication *Unlocking the Past*, in which Cressey also contributed a short piece about archaeology in Alexandria and briefly identified some of the city's accomplishments (Cressey 2005). Cressey has also authored and co-authored pieces in other venues about the city's archaeology. Recent publications include a 2007 book chapter written with Natalie Vinton that described the programs in Alexandria and Sydney, Australia, a book for children about the city's archaeology, and another book identifying and describing the historical sites on the Alexandria Heritage Trail (Cressey 2002; Cressey and Anderson 2006; Cressey and Vinton 2007).

Phoenix is unusual in that it does have a thorough history of the archaeological work associated with the Pueblo Grande platform mound, which also includes the development of the Pueblo Grande Museum. In 1993, the museum began to publish the series *Archaeology of the Pueblo Grande Platform Mound and Surrounding Structures*, which assembled and published for the first time all of the archaeological studies that had been carried out at the mound since its

first survey by Adolph Bandelier in 1883 (Downum and Bostwick 1993a). In the first volume of the series, *Introduction to the Archival Project and History of Archaeological Research*, contributions by David Wilcox (1993a; 1993b; 1993c) develop the early history of archaeology at the mound and profile the life of the city's first archaeologist and museum director, Odd Halseth. Subsequent sections by Todd Bostwick (1993a; 1993b) and Christian Downum (1993) describe the archaeology undertaken at the site during the depression-era, and provide an account of activities at the museum from the time of Halseth's retirement in 1953 through the book's publication in 1993. Though much has changed with regard to the organization, scope and practice of archaeology in Phoenix in the eighteen years since the book's publication, it remains a valuable source of information relating to the history of the Pueblo Grande platform mound and museum.

Reflecting the public orientation of the city's program, Bostwick, like Cressey, has published books about the city's archaeology that are likely to appeal to a wide audience. These have included a book about the archaeology of the city's airport (which is in very close proximity to the Pueblo Grande Mound), a children's book about the Hohokam and Pueblo Grande, and the results of a major effort to document the rock art of the City of Phoenix's South Mountain Park (Andrews and Bostwick 2000; Bostwick and Krocek 2002; Bostwick 2008).

In St. Augustine, the archaeologists who had first shared the responsibilities of executing the city's archaeology ordinance, Bruce Piatek, Stanley Bond and Christine Newman, all associated with the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, published an account of the development of the city's archaeology ordinance and a description of how it worked in the *Florida Anthropologist* in 1989 (Piatek et al. 1989). While a great deal about the program has changed since it was published twenty two years ago, this remains very valuable publication for

learning about the history of archaeology in the city. Carl Halbirt, who took on the role of city archaeologist in 1990, has also periodically brought the accomplishments of the program to the attention of other archaeologists, such as in his presentation at the Florida Anthropological Society conference in 1993, titled “The First Five Years: The City of St. Augustine’s Archaeology Program, 1987 to 1992” (Halbirt 1993). Like the archaeologists in Alexandria and Phoenix, Halbirt has periodically published findings in venues likely to reach other archaeologists and members of the public, including a 2004 article in *Historical Archaeology* titled “La Ciudad de San Agustin: A European Fighting Presidio in Eighteenth Century ‘La Florida’” (Halbirt 2004).

The primary responsibilities of these individuals as archaeologists, and as city employees, is to make sure that their cities’ archaeological resources are protected, appreciated and understood by local residents and by city government to the greatest degree possible. Achieving this goal does occasionally allow for a bit of self-reflection about the accomplishments of their programs and the mechanisms that they have used, but only rarely. As such, there is clearly a need not only for an in-depth exploration of the archaeology programs as they currently exist in each city, and for comparison between the three programs, but also to see just how they have become integrated with and contribute to other forms of municipal activity. Other research could focus on the relationship between the archaeology programs and education, for example, or on the social networks that are created through archaeology programs compared to other publicly-oriented government activities (libraries, recreation programs, or seniors’ centers for example). This dissertation will focus on interactions that are associated with the city planning sphere.

Archaeology and the Public: an Evolving Relationship

Today, many professional archaeologists are continuing the trend set in motion nearly forty years ago to develop a more publicly-oriented approach to their work (McGimsey 1972; Sprinkle 2003). There has always been an avocational presence in archaeology, and that will be discussed in Chapter I, but since the mid 1970s, a tremendous amount of energy has been directed at making archaeology more accessible to the public. Many of the pioneering projects of the late 1970s and 1980s that sought to introduce the public to archaeology were documented either as conference presentations while the projects were underway or they have since been described by those central to their formation (Comer 1986; Cressey 1979; Smardz 1990). Some of the projects carried out during this era even involved working within the context of local development review (Baugher and Dizerga Wall 1997). It is worth noting that some of the most innovative voices during this period were coming from the handful of cities with archaeology programs, most notably Alexandria, Baltimore, New York, and Toronto.

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, archaeologists continued to explore different aspects of their relationship with the non-professional public. Sometimes the literature describing these efforts focused in the school or museum spheres (Smardz and Smith, 2000; Stone and Molyneaux 1994). Other works focused more on how archaeologists should conceptualize their message to the public (McManamon 1994; 2002). Others explored specific techniques for interpreting archaeology for the public (Jameson 1997; 2004; Stone and Planel 1999). Increasingly, the conversations taking place within public archaeology came to reflect the view that by virtue of the information and ideas that it brought to light, and because of the processes it used to develop those ideas, archaeology should be understood as a political activity (Merriman 2004; Shackel and Chambers 2004).

Where archaeology was once presented to the public, it now partners with, or serves the public. Barbara Little and Paul Shackel's 2007 edited volume is titled *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement*, and in her introductory chapter, Little couches the book's contents in the language of social capital, citizenship and justice. The subtitle of Jameson and Baugher's recent *Past Meets Present* is *Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers and Community Groups* (Jameson and Baugher 2007). Again, this reinforces the importance of collaboration with members of the community, emphasizing that archaeology take the form of a partnership with the public, rather than something being done for the public. For some archaeologists, such as Randall McGuire, the idea of "politically grounded archaeology" allows the opportunity for "real collaboration with communities and to challenge both the legacies of colonialism and the omnipresent class struggles of the modern world" (McGuire 2008: xii). Examples of work carried out from this perspective, of using archaeology to redress past wrongs through the community-based production of knowledge, abound in recent literature. Some archaeologists have focused on issues of class and power, using archaeology to question long held narratives about the benefits of unbridled capitalism (Shackel 2000; 2002). Other archaeologists have focused on working with marginalized communities to develop a more complete vision of their overlooked histories (McDavid 2004; Mullins 2004; Pape 2007). Still others have emphasized the role of archaeology as a tool that can either help or hurt descendant communities depending on how it enters the modern political context (Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2007; Hansen and Rossen 2007; Smith 2004;). Key among many of these new efforts, however, is the idea that the vanguard of public archaeology is no longer simply archaeology being carried out *for* or even *with* the public; public archaeology's cutting edge is now more often defined by the communities most directly affected by its practice. In their best case scenarios, the

relationships between archaeologists and surrounding stakeholder communities are developed using a framework of trust (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006). The recognition of the need for multivocality within archaeology also opens the door for understanding how archaeology fits into broader conversations about heritage, place and identity (Smith 2004; 2006).

Though their experiences have not yet received the attention that they merit, the activities of municipal archaeology programs are emblematic of the discipline's broader shift toward political engagement with those members of the public who have historically been marginalized by the archaeological process. These programs frequently create opportunities for marginalized groups to gain access to their previously unexplored history, or to treat their own archaeological patrimony as they see fit. Municipal archaeology programs represent the institutionalization of the political relationship between archaeology and the public, but they have rarely, if ever, been appreciated for this characteristic.

Archaeology and its Role in the Creation of Heritage

The sites, objects, or practices associated with earlier generations do not automatically become meaningful to those alive today. Instead, it is incumbent upon those in the present to determine for themselves what value they will place upon the remains of the past. Ideas of what types of material should be valued, and of whose value system should be applied to that material, change with time and vary between cultures. Within this ever-shifting context, heritage can be understood as a process of combining elements of the past with an active political process in which those in the present select elements of the past that they want (or need) to maintain for current use. Archaeology, by virtue of its ability to literally re-introduce the physical material of

the past into the lives of those in the present, must therefore be recognized for its ability to play a major role in the production of heritage.

Those discussing heritage often do so from one of three perspectives. One perspective is to focus on the idea that heritage is in a constant state of constant flux, stressing its political attributes, or the way in which elements of the past are used to serve the needs of the living (Gathercole and Lowenthal, 1990; Lowenthal 1996; Smith 2006). Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2007) develop this line of thought in the opening pages of their recent *Pluralizing Pasts*, emphasizing two aspects of heritage: its nature as a product of the demands of the ever-changing present, and the idea that its political nature can be both a cause and effect of social conflict. Harvey (2001:336) has also emphasized the political nature of heritage, observing that because it is made, not given, it has to be seen as “an ethical enterprise,” one that recognizes heritage as a process and rejects the “fetishising” of preserved remains of the past.

Others seeking to operationalize heritage have done so by focusing on the tangible “elements of the past” rather than on the process of their selection. In introducing the legal protection that has developed over time for heritage resources in the United States, Francis P. McManamon (1999), Chief Archaeologist of the National Park Service, provides a description of heritage resources as including archaeological sites, historic structures, museum objects, historic shipwrecks and cultural properties. This list speaks well to the types of resources that are most readily protected by preservation legislation in the United States.

But there are other viewpoints on how the legacy of the past is understood by those in the present, and this introduces a third perspective from which to explore heritage, that of intangible heritage. Anyon, Ferguson and Welch (2000: 120), writing in a volume edited by McManamon and Hatton (2000) seek to provide a Native American perspective on heritage management, and

describe heritage resources as “objects, places, and intangibles that derive significance from their associations with tribal traditions.” A place need not necessarily have artifacts, for example, to be seen as a heritage site if it is associated with tribal traditions, and heritage can also be intangible. It does not require the presence of a physical “thing.” The idea of intangibles as heritage has received a great deal of attention, both within the United States and in other countries. Intangible cultural heritage has been described as falling into five categories, including oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2003). Others have worked to further develop the concept so that intangible heritage might be valued to the same extent as the tangible (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Munjeri 2004; Smith and Akagawa 2009). While intangible heritage itself may not always take a physical form, its influence can certainly be seen in the archaeological record. The placement, shape, and type of structures and objects found during an excavation all reflect the culture, beliefs, and practices of those responsible for their creation.

Tying the concept of heritage to specific parcels of land draws attention to the fact that there is more to historic sites than their age. Historic sites are meaningful because someone in the present places value (positive or negative) on the site’s association with historical events. They are physically grounded symbols in the landscape, representing the ideas and events that have shaped a community through time (Hull et al. 1994). They are also specific geographic locations that are experienced in some way, shape or form daily by the local residents of a community. As such, historic sites are perhaps understood better as “places” rather than “things.” The term “place” has many definitions, but an attempt to define it from one perspective centers on the idea that place is a “meaningful segment of geographic space” (Adams

et al. 2001; Cresswell 2008: 134; Malpas 2008). The idea that place is the product of space and meaning can be traced back to the writings of Edward Relph (1976), Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), David Ley (1977) and others from this period who sought to steer scholars in the direction of studying the values and circumstances that defined how geographic space was experienced. Yi-Fu Tuan observed in his 1977 work *Space and Place* that:

Space is more abstract than “place.” What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. ...if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place (Tuan 1977: 6)

Ley (1977) expressed similar thoughts but also introduced an element of time to the discussion of meaning and place, recognizing that the meaning a place has for an individual or for a group in one generation would influence how subsequent generations saw that same location. Ley’s observation is particularly relevant to understanding the relationship between archaeology and place, because archaeology can help to make public the meanings held by those earlier generations, thereby explaining why some people may interact with a place in the way that they currently do, and helping others who are not of that group to understand the lessons, value, or significance that a place might have to those who are. A corollary to this idea, which is equally true and is necessary for understanding how the community interacts with historic sites, is that one site can be “seen” in any number of ways and be host to any number of meanings (Meinig 1979). As Ley put it, “...every object is an object *for* a subject” (Ley 1977: 499).

The geographers of the 1970s did a great deal to spur academic interest in the concept of place, and to help understand how people related to particular locations, but they only represented one piece of the puzzle that was coming together during that decade. Another key piece was the development of the public history movement. As will become clear in Chapter I,

public history shares some of its genetic stock with public archaeology. The widespread formation of state and local historical societies in the 19th Century, helped to support both historical and archaeological research into the history of newly “opened” areas of the country and this research was possible in large part because of enthusiastic amateurs (Scardaville 1987).

For both history and archaeology, the late 19th and early 20th Centuries saw the growth of professionalization, which expanded in the 1930s (Scardaville 1987). Both archaeology and history benefitted greatly from federal expansion during the New Deal era, when many unemployed historians found work in the National Archives, or with the rapidly expanding National Park Service (Conard 2002). Under the guidance of Verne Chatelain, they were able to use their skills to develop the concept of the National Historical Park into something that stood on equal footing with the natural wonders already associated with the National Park Service (Conard 2002; Hosmer 1981; Hosmer 1994). Likewise, many archaeologists were able to hone their skills directing and carrying out relief-work archaeology throughout the country (Fagette 1996; Lyon 1996), and during this period the NPS created an Archaeologic Sites Division within its Branch of Historic Sites (Kelly 1940).

While these represent some of the historical antecedents of the field of public history, the public historian, at least in name, didn’t truly exist as such until the mid 1970s. At that point, a glut of traditionally trained academic historians, public enthusiasm for history generated by the buildup to the nation’s bicentennial, and the need for historians trained to deal with practical, non-academic questions all led to the formation of the first graduate program in Public Historical Studies at the University of California - Santa Barbara in 1976 (Johnson 1999; Kelley 1978; Scardaville 1987). The program sought to create a corps of historians trained to work as archivists, in museums, local government, business, historic preservation and other fields, so that

the skills of the historian could be more readily applied in a non-academic setting (Kelley 1978). The publication of the journal *The Public Historian* followed in 1978 (Kelley 1978). In Robert Kelley's article in the inaugural issue of *The Public Historian* he lays out a simple way of understanding the difference between public history and academic history as stemming from the question "...who is posing the question to which the historian is seeking to give an answer" (Kelley 1978). For academic historians it was the researcher him or herself, while the public historian responded to a need expressed by others (Kelley 1978).

There is significant overlap between the work of public historians and public archaeologists during the 1970s. As will be discussed in Chapter I, archaeologists had something of a head start entering the public realm. The National Park Service had excavated, administered, and interpreted archaeological sites to the public since the 1930s at sites such as Ocmulgee National Monument in Georgia and Colonial National Historical Park in Virginia. In the following years, the Park Service developed its own philosophies for interpreting sites to the public (Tilden 1957). By the time the public history program was being developed in Santa Barbara, the Park Service was already using cutting edge interpretive practices at archaeological sites such as the Benjamin Franklin home site in Independence National Historical Park, which opened as a major attraction during the nation's bicentennial celebration and featured the now famous "ghost house" interpreting Franklin's home (Jepson 2007; Yamin 2008). In addition, the historic preservation and environmental protection legislation of the 1960s and 1970s had begun to generate employment opportunities for archaeologists working in the public and private sectors, outside of academia, creating yet more opportunities for interaction with the public.

The gradual increase in publicly accessible critical thought about local sites opened the door for academics and practitioners from a variety of backgrounds, including archaeology,

history, geography, historic preservation and planning, to make contributions to the field of cultural landscape studies, a field whose boundaries are porous, but which nonetheless remains a useful vehicle for understanding the relationship between historical events and the modern, place-based experience. To begin, “cultural landscape” is a squishy term with long roots (Hoskins 1955; Jackson 1980; Sauer 1925; Meinig 1979a; Meinig 1979b). Taken in its broadest and admittedly most problematic sense, a cultural landscape is found anywhere the land has been altered by human activity (Alanen and Melnick 2000: 3). But as difficult as that definition is to use (virtually everything on earth, and for that matter the moon, could be broadly defined as a cultural landscape), that flexibility is precisely what allows the study of the cultural landscape to communicate as much information as it does. Most definitions do, however, attempt to establish some boundaries on the term. In its Technical Preservation Brief on the subject, the National Park Service describes a cultural landscape as being “a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values” (Birnbaum 1994: 1). The Park Service breaks cultural landscapes down into four categories: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes (Birnbaum 1994). But there are dangers in excessive “codification.” Melnick (2008) warns of the hazards that await if excessive reliance on bureaucratic mechanisms strips those studying the cultural landscape of their ability to recognize the different forms of meaning present in the landscape. “Memory, human memory, human meaning inscribed in a place is essential... How do we find, place, recognize and protect personal meaning in the landscape?” (Melnick 2008: 200).

Researchers and practitioners from a variety of fields have made use of cultural landscape studies to tell the stories behind those memories and meanings found throughout the United

States. Some have used it to tell the story of race (Dubrow, 2000; Hoelscher, 2003; Schein 2006), others have focused on gender (Baughner and Spencer-Wood 2010), and class (Moore 2000; Shackel 2004). Some have focused on several different facets of the cultural landscape within the same city (Hayden 1995). Tellingly, those engaged in cultural landscape studies come from a varied background: Schein and Hoelscher are geographers by training, Dubrow is an urban planner and preservationist, Hayden trained as an architect, and Baughner, Shackel and Spencer-Wood are archaeologists. If this disciplinary overlap is any indication, archaeology clearly has something to offer not only to those most involved with the study of the landscape, but to those involved with its manufacture as well.

Archaeology and the Building of Community Assets

As the above discussion illustrates, archaeologists have become increasingly engaged with the political world and have developed working relationships with other disciplines that influence how archaeological sites are understood and used by those who live in the surrounding community. It is important to recognize that for the people who live in a community that has an archaeological site, that site is something that may be encountered on a regular basis, long after the excavation itself has concluded. The site is part of their daily experience. As such, for local residents, the importance of the excavation may be dwarfed by the importance of how the site and its information are subsequently treated. How do the residents of the surrounding areas use the information gathered through archaeology, and how do they use the site itself? More to the point for this particular research, in what ways and to what effect do archaeological sites cross the boundary into the realm of community amenities, such as public parks, trails, memorial spaces or local museums?

Heritage trails, greenways, museums and public parks with historically or archaeologically oriented content can provide unique, place-specific ways for local residents to enjoy the history that made their community what it is, while meeting their recreational and educational needs. Surprisingly, there is very little in the academic literature that explores the relationship between the historical content of these amenities and the experience of their local users. This type of research could access the varieties of meaning and provide the more personal perspectives on the cultural landscape that Melnick referred to in his 2008 chapter mentioned above. More common is research that relates to these amenities' nature as recreational sites, or research that focuses on sites of a different scale, at National Parks for example. Among those exploring the community benefits of trails, greenways, and parks, academic interest is drawn from a number of different fields. Some focus on the relationship between greenways, trails and parks from the perspective of their effect on property values (Asabere and Huffman 2009; Crompton 2001; Sander and Polasky 2008). Others explore the relationship between greenways, parks and trails and levels of physical activity among local residents (Coutts 2008; Fitzhugh et al. 2010; Krizek and Johnson 2006). Others research the characteristics of the trail users themselves, focusing on preferred time of use, preferred trail features, or on the social equity of the amenities' locations (Gobster and Westphal 2004; Lindsey 1999; Lindsey et al. 2001; Lindsey 2007).

The discussions of historically oriented trails, parks and greenways that recognize the historic nature of the sites share some traits with the discussions related to non-historic amenities, but they do differ in important respects. For example, enquiries into the relationship between historic amenities and residents also frequently tie in with economic issues, but they are more likely to focus on the ability of a heritage trail or rail-trail to generate local economic

activity through tourism rather than through property value increase (Bowker et al. 2007; Siderelis and Moore 1995; Stewart and Barr 2005).

At a larger scale, the National Park Service's Archaeology Division has developed a number of programs and published many articles and technical briefs that relate to the interpretation of archaeological sites to the public, to helping community groups build stronger connections to the resources in their National Parks, and to recognizing the meaning that these sites already have for the public. John Jameson (2007) has described several of the partnerships developed between individual NPS sites and the surrounding communities, including examples from Fort Frederica National Monument and Ocmulgee National Monument in Georgia, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and Reserve in Washington state, and Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona. Another program developed by the NPS includes a training module published in 2004 titled *Interpretation for Archaeologists: A Guide to Increasing Knowledge, Skills and Abilities* (Moyer et al. 2004). The module recognizes that the ability to interpret an archaeological site for the public is not necessarily part of every archaeologist's skill set, and it includes recommendations for how to effectively engage the public with the site's archaeological assets (Moyer et al. 2004). The Park Service also periodically publishes articles written by NPS employees and others involved in the management of archaeological resources through its *Technical Briefs* series. These briefs have outlined how to support state "archaeology weeks," and how to develop archaeological site stewardship programs, among other topics (Greengrass 1999; Hoffman and Lerner 1988; Kelly 2007). Many of the recent books on the relationship between the public and archaeology are being written, edited or co-edited by Park Service archaeologists (Little 2002; Little and Shackel 2007; Jameson 1997; 2004; Jameson and Baugher 2007).

These examples reflect a federal agency that is well aware of its responsibility to help develop connections between the public and archaeological sites. At the local and state levels, however, the relationships between the public and archaeological or historically oriented parks, trails or other amenities are less likely to be explored by academic or professional audiences. This is unfortunate because local sites present tremendous opportunities for addressing the kinds of questions raised by Melnick that relate to the meaning and memories present at these sites.

While rare, there are examples that illustrate the benefits of learning more about the relationships between historic amenities and the residents that live in the surrounding community. In describing her experiences working as an “interpretive archaeologist” in Alabama’s Cahawba State Park, archaeologist and park manager Linda Derry described her struggles and, eventually, successes in engaging the community to help document the history of the location (Derry 1997). Cahawba today is a historic ghost town, just outside of Selma. Prior to the Civil War it was the county seat, social center and center of commerce for Dallas County’s slave-based cotton economy (Derry 1997). In her efforts to research the site’s past, Derry ran into heavy resistance from many of the people who would have the most useful personal and family knowledge about the site, in part because she was not perceived as a community member. By working with retired teachers at a local community center, by developing a student-centered research program that gave students the opportunity to record oral histories from family members and community elders, and by bringing in a preservation expert from Tuskegee to demonstrate for the students how a historic structure is documented, Derry was able to use the preservation of features within the park as a vehicle for making the site meaningful for a new generation of park visitors, as well as using it as an opportunity for strengthening bonds between generations (Derry 1997). In addition, the students put on a photographic exhibit about the park,

and took a field trip to Washington DC to learn about the HABS program (Derry 1997). In describing her experience, Derry identifies several barriers she encountered and the realization that finally allowed her to tap into the meaning that the park had to many local residents:

My European descent, the topic of pre-emancipation archaeology, and the politics of my setting were roadblocks to achieving public participation. Various academic approaches to the participation problem were tried and failed. Only when questions were asked that were meaningful to the local community was a workable solution found (Derry 1997).

Cahawba is an example of an archaeological site that had been made a state park, which clearly held meaning to the surrounding residents. But until Derry was able to engage students and community members to share their stories, that meaning was not part of the park's interpretive programming, and it was not part of the lives of the students. The development of a public-orientation to the park's archaeology program provided a way for older residents to share their place-specific knowledge with the younger generation, and allowed the students to develop an understanding of the site based on those stories and on their own educational experiences. Thus, the site became meaningful for a new generation of community members. Without the presence of archaeological features in the park, and without the existence of a publicly-oriented archaeological program to keep the park's meaning alive in the current generation of users, the significance of the park for these users could easily have waned.

There are a handful of other examples in the literature of archaeological sites that demonstrate how archaeological and historical information can be used at a local level to create community amenities meeting the needs of local residents. In a 2008 article published in *Historical Archaeology*, Timothy Bauman, Andrew Hurley, and Lori Allen describe the process used by residents of the Old North St. Louis neighborhood in St. Louis, Missouri, HUD and the University of Missouri at St. Louis to develop a revitalization program for the neighborhood

(Bauman et al. 2008). Hurley relayed the story of the program at book-length in 2010 (Hurley 2010). As part of the Community Outreach Partnership Center program developed by HUD, the Old North Neighborhood Partnership Center carried out work that related to four thematic areas: community organizing and leadership; home maintenance and financial literacy; environmental health and safety; and neighborhood stabilization and historic preservation (Hurley 2010). In pursuing the fourth area, the partnership center employed an unusual combination of archaeology, oral history and interpretation to supplement its building conservation efforts. The project conducted archaeology within several sites in the community and used the artifacts to initiate conversations with senior community members about the artifacts, their use, and other stories that these families could share. The community identified interpretive themes, including the neighborhood's long history as a "point of entry" for people from diverse backgrounds moving to the city (Bauman et al. 2008). Hurley describes the philosophy guiding the interpretation of the neighborhood's built environment as follows:

By allowing the built environment to open a window onto lives once lived, we encouraged the current inhabitants of Old North St. Louis to locate themselves along a continuum of social struggles and development. In this respect, we adopted the perspective of cultural geographers and public historians...who view landscape as the accretion of social experience and a repository of collective memory (Hurley 2010: 76).

In addition to the rehabilitation of many of the neighborhood's historic structures, and the construction of new, owner-occupied housing units, members of the community and their partners developed a heritage bike trail, wrote a history of the neighborhood, developed a video about the neighborhood's history, and built a small museum that features neighborhood-specific historical exhibits (Hurley 2010). All of these serve to raise levels of community pride, increase local and visitor awareness of the neighborhood's identity, and tell the story of its growth and change through the years (Bauman et al. 2008). In short, these assets help to give the community

an identity in a way that was never publicly appreciated before. Hurley identifies a local resident as saying “Until we began focusing on our historical roots, our historical context, ideas of redevelopment of our particular neighborhood went absolutely nowhere... But since then, things have begun to snowball” (Hurley 2010: 90).

Hurley also touches on the importance of understanding the difference between national significance and local meaning. In describing how the National Register’s “fifty year rule” had at first prevented the community from placing value on its more recent history, he points out that much of the richest historical content, and the most vivid memories, came from the oral histories of people who lived through precisely that period (Hurley 2010). Recognizing the value of the experiences of the people who lived through those years helps to give the neighborhood roots that include its current residents, not just those who have long since passed from the scene.

In another example, again from Selma, an article by Brian Geiger and Karen Werner details the development of the Selma Nutrition Exercise and Wellness Study (NEWS), an effort to combat the effects of childhood obesity (Geiger and Werner 2009). Outgrowths of the study included changes in school lunch programs, a revitalization of the city’s parks, and, most relevant to this discussion, the development of a heritage trail celebrating the city’s pre-Civil War history and the city’s role in the Civil Rights movement (Geiger and Werner 2009). The trail is to be used as a tool for both developing a sense of history in the city’s students and for improving their physical activity levels. While this trail is an example of historical information, rather than archaeological features, being combined with physical fitness and educational goals, it is rare in that it recognizes that there can be a connection between a community’s interest in its history and its ability to meet other goals more commonly associated with planning, such as creating a built environment that is more conducive to physical activity.

METHODOLOGY

Strategies of Inquiry:

In the 2009 edition of his *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Robert Yin highlighted the suitability of the case study research design for research questions that must bring together multiple sources of data (Yin 2009). This dissertation uses a case study research design to examine the public archaeology programs found in Alexandria, VA; Phoenix, AZ and St. Augustine, FL. Because the municipal archaeology programs in these cities have been in operation for so long, they contain a wealth of information in multiple forms. The flexibility of a case study design incorporates a wide range of data types, including archival and published documentation, semi-structured interviews with city staff and elected officials, with the leadership of the volunteer groups that support the archaeology program, and with members of the different groups engaged in tourism promotion. A case study design permits the same topic to be examined from multiple perspectives, supplementing interview content with written and published sources likely to provide additional information and therefore a more complete picture of events as they happened in the past and continue in the present. The municipal archaeology programs themselves are the units of analysis.

The first stage of data collection involved researching archival and published sources about the development of the position of city archaeologist, the formation of the archaeology regulations in each city, the role of the public in the formation and development of the city's archaeological efforts, and the circumstances surrounding the formation of the volunteer group that supports the program. This stage also included research into the early efforts by community groups and local governments to use archaeological assets to promote the image of the city as a destination for heritage tourism. This work was carried out by researching in the archives at the

Alexandria Library, the Smithsonian Institute, the Alexandria Archaeology Museum Archive, the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library, and the Pueblo Grande Museum in Phoenix. Also included in this stage were informal, unscripted, unrecorded conversations with the city archaeologists about the nature of their programs. The bulk of this research took place during the summer of 2009, and the winter of 2009/2010.

The second set of data was collected in the summer of 2010. This stage involved a return to the archival sources discussed above, and also included the information gathered through interview format. The interviews used a semi-structured format to engage the city archaeologists, city planning officials, representatives from the visitors and convention bureaus, and the leadership of the volunteer groups who choose to become deeply involved in the activities of the archaeology program. The interviews developed different perspectives on the history of the municipal archaeology programs, on their activities, on the amenities and assets that they have produced, and on the role of the public in their activities. Some interviews logically included more questions about one or two of those content areas than others, and some circumstances provided the opportunity to explore perspectives that existed in one city but not another. The Alexandria Archaeological Commission members, for example, had a much more formal position with the city's political structure than did the St. Augustine Archaeological Association, and these differences helped to demonstrate some of the nuances of the different programs.¹

¹ The interviews were recorded using an Olympus VN – 3200 PC digital voice recorder.

Analysis and Interpretation:

The purpose of the archival and documentary research, and the interviews, was to create as complete an image as possible of the activities, review mechanisms, and benefits of these three municipal archaeology programs. Archival sources were explored and incorporated to the extent that they provided information related to the three topics as far back as archaeology had been practiced in the public realm for each city. Archival sources were the primary source of information related to the beginning of the city archaeology programs and ordinances, as they made accessible original documents passed by city council, newspaper coverage that recorded the thoughts and concerns of the public, of the archaeological community, and of the city officials. The data from the interviews helped to shed light on the history of the programs and on the details of their operation, as well as providing insight into the experiences and motivations of the people whose commitment to the programs, either as city staff or as volunteers, have built the programs into the examples of public archaeology.

Narrative Structure:

Chapter I of this dissertation traces the development of public archaeology as a distinct theme within the history of archaeology. This chapter demonstrates that while the term “public archaeology” may be of relatively recent vintage, archaeology has a long history of avocational participants contributing to the field that dates to the very beginnings of archaeology as a method of learning about the past. Chapter II begins the process of documenting the establishment of the city archaeology programs found in each city. First is Alexandria. This chapter details the rise of Alexandria’s program, beginning with the restoration of the city’s Civil War fort, which prepared the city to respond when Urban Renewal projects in the city’s historic core created

opportunities for archaeology in the 1960s. Chapter III introduces St. Augustine. Although it stumbled a bit coming out of the gate, it was the first city to adopt an archaeological protection ordinance. Chapter IV covers the growth of the archaeology program in Phoenix, beginning with the city's acquisition of the Pueblo Grande mound site, and continuing into the present, with Todd Bostwick turning a post at the museum into a platform for promoting and protecting archaeology throughout the city. Chapter V details and compares the mechanisms the cities use to include archaeology in the planning and development review process, exploring their treatment in the local comprehensive planning documents, in the zoning ordinances, and in the policies adopted for development review in each city. Chapter VI explores the ways in which the city archaeology programs have contributed to the creation of community amenities to be enjoyed by those present in the city. These may include museums, parks, trails, transportation enhancements or other forms of archaeologically oriented amenities. The conclusion will reflect on the lessons to be taken from these three programs, and will introduce future areas of research on the topic of municipal archaeology programs.

CHAPTER I

THE EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE PUBLIC IN THE UNITED STATES

In order to understand how archaeology might begin to play a larger role within the place-making efforts typically led by city planners and local government officials, it is helpful to first learn the story of the professionalization of archaeology, not from the perspective of archaeology's development as a science, but from the viewpoint of its relationship with the non-professional public. In the United States today, even among the most experienced volunteers, the word "archaeologist" implies university training, typically in archaeology or anthropology, possibly certification as a Registered Public Archaeologist or membership in the Society for American Archaeology. It also implies an acceptance of certain professional and ethical codes of conduct, as well as technical competency in current methods and awareness of emerging technologies as they become available. Some organizations, notably the National Park Service, have adopted professional standards that one must meet in order to be considered "professionally qualified" for NPS archaeological work (National Park Service 2011). Using the title of "archaeologist" without having met these standards would certainly be misleading, if not ethically questionable. This reflects the professionalization of the field that has taken place over the course of the last century and a half, and is an acknowledgement of the increasing complexity of archaeology's methods, ideas, and theories. Archaeology's leaders today are almost always professionally trained.

This was not always the case. Prior to the late nineteenth century, the country as a whole had not yet begun to develop the intellectual infrastructure of museums, universities government agencies and legal mandates that would later steer the development of American archaeology.

Instead, these efforts were led by antiquarian and philosophical societies, and the members of those societies were typically men who made their living in other pursuits. At the state and local level, these societies provided local residents with an outlet for sharing their place-based knowledge with a larger group of interested people, and archaeology, such as it then was, provided a way for many to play a role in developing new knowledge about the places they called home. As the field of archaeology grew and became more scientific in its approach, knowledge became more specialized and greater levels of training were required to appreciate the significance of the information coming out of the ground. This allowed archaeologists to apply the most modern techniques to questions about the past, but it did, by necessity, limit the degree to which most non-professionals could be present in the vanguard of archaeological theory and practice. It did not, however, diminish the interest of the public in the idea of archaeological exploration. This constantly evolving relationship between those who have made the practice of archaeology their career and life pursuit, and those who enter the field avocationally, searching for a way to bring more of the past into their personal present, remains one of the major unexplored themes to be understood in approaching the history of American archaeology.

The Origins of American Archaeology

Wiley and Sabloff have identified the years prior to 1840 as the “Speculative Period,” in American archaeology, as there simply was no widely accepted process in place for producing anything more than guesswork about the nature of the archaeological evidence present in the landscape (Wiley and Sabloff 1990: 12). This lack of structure allowed virtually anyone with an opinion and the will to write it down to become a self-styled expert. The earthworks and burial mounds created by Native American cultures in the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys,

and the Southeast, provided an almost endless source for such expert speculation (Trigger 1989: 104). The mounds were variously attributed to groups of Danes, the Welsh, Peruvians, Egyptians, survivors from Atlantis, or ancient Mexicans who traveled north to, or south from, Ohio (Mann 2003: 51-104; Trigger 1989). It is important to note that some of these theories were quite representative of mainstream thought. An 1839 piece written by William Henry Harrison shortly before his election to the Presidency of the United States indicates the currency of the idea that Ohio's mounds were actually the early works of the Aztecs before their migration to Mexico (Harrison 1839).

This lack of a rational framework around which to assemble archaeological knowledge led to a wide range of highly questionable activities being carried out in the name of science. The methods used to gather this data involved the destruction of countless grave sites across the country, and many of the conclusions reached must now be seen as little more than reflections of the Eurocentric (to put it mildly) theories then in vogue (Mann 2003; Trigger 1989: 104,105). There were virtually no standards of what was and was not acceptable conduct. Examples of what passed for archaeology in this era can be found in the accounts of pioneers describing the wonders and oddities of the new western territories as they were opened to exploration and settlement. One of the more reputable publications of the nineteenth century, the *North American Review*, included the following description of the "examination" of Indian mounds in the town of Harrison, Indiana Territory, excerpted from the *Western Gazette* in 1817:

We examined from fifteen to twenty [mounds]. In some, whose heights was from ten to fifteen feet, we could not find more than four or five skeletons. In one, not the least appearance of a human bone was to be found. Others were so full of bones, as to warrant the belief, that they originally contained at least one hundred dead bodies... We found several skull, leg and thigh bones, which plainly indicated that their possessors were men of gigantic stature... (North American Review 1817: 137).

Clearly, destroying fifteen to twenty major archaeological features and concluding that those buried there were giants is not the kind of research with which most modern archaeologists would want to associate themselves.

One well known exception to this rule of speculation and thoughtless destruction of archaeological sites is the work of Thomas Jefferson. In his twenties, Jefferson applied a scientific method of inquiry towards the process of excavating an Indian burial mound, recorded stratigraphic data as he went, used his findings to answer questions about the mound, and later published the results (Kelso 1997: 16-18). That this work was being carried out and published by Thomas Jefferson, and that the techniques that he used to carry out this proto-archaeological excavation were not generally taken up by others engaging in similar work until the 1840s, speaks volumes about two realities of the time in which he worked. The first reality is that in this early stage of the development of archaeology, one did not have to dedicate one's career to the subject to make a meaningful contribution to the field. Jefferson was, of course, not an archaeologist but he was able to apply his own curiosity, energy and skills to address questions posed by the mound. The second reality was that there was no widely accepted set of procedures for creating objective scientific knowledge based on archaeological remains. Jefferson's actions were guided by his awareness of the scientific method. The work of others, however, which was not carried out by members of the nation's intellectual elite was only rarely informed by the same philosophy.

A handful of others were more similar in approach to Jefferson than to the authors of the *Western Gazetteer*. Some did engage in more substantial work related to the study of Native American culture. Like most intellectuals of the era, they were typically men with established

careers in other disciplines. Albert Gallatin is one well known example. His study of Native American languages and his early involvement with other ethnological heavyweights of the early to mid nineteenth century (including Ephraim Squier and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft of the Historical Society of Michigan) helped to plant some of the seeds that would grow into linguistic anthropology, but Gallatin had made his living as a banker, as secretary of the treasury under Jefferson and Madison, and as an American diplomat to France and England (Wilcox and Fowler 2002).

Prior to the rise of American museums with national and international reputations such as the Smithsonian Institute or the American Museum of Natural History, and before the growth of the academic culture that would take place in the late nineteenth century, philosophical and scientific societies were the chief generators of intellectual activity related to virtually all things scientific in North America. Inspired by the Royal Society of London, the American Philosophical Society (APS) provided a place for those interested in engaging in scientific research to share their enthusiasm and their findings with like minded colleagues (Fay 1932). Beginning in 1743, the APS and its members were major supporters of the endeavors of early archaeologists and anthropologists, including Jefferson and Gallatin (Chinard 1943). In 1799, the APS reportedly published and distributed circulars inviting surveys and recordings of earthworks and monuments of archaeological value, thereby helping others to recognize the potential significance of the sites (Chinard 1943; Wissler 1942). This relatively small effort compliments the Society's involvement in the much more widely recognized work of Stephen DuPonceau, John Pickering and others, whose efforts also helped to lay the foundations for the development of American anthropology (Wilcox and Fowler 2002; Wissler 1942).

The American Antiquarian Society (AAS) is another organization that facilitated the development of archaeology prior to the field's eventual professionalization (Joyce 1981). Founded in 1812, the AAS played a major role in funding and publicizing early archaeological explorations, including those of the Native American mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys (Joyce 1981). Caleb Atwater's "Description of the Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio and Other Western States" was included in the first issue of *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* in 1820 (Atwater 1820). Interestingly, the second volume of *Archaeologia Americana* included Albert Gallatin's "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America" (Gallatin 1836). That Atwater should see himself as qualified to document the mounds of the region comes as no surprise given his position as Postmaster of Circleville, Ohio (Willey and Sabloff 1990: 29,30). In a process that has been well documented by urban planning historian John Reps, Circleville was laid out in 1810 on a site occupied by several Native American mounds (Reps 1955). Though the city's form would change in subsequent decades, it was originally planned so that a large ring shaped mound defined the street pattern at the center of town (Reps 1955). The center of Circleville was occupied by the courthouse and a circular open space of roughly 400 feet in diameter (Reps 1955). It is interesting to speculate that Atwater's "Description of the Antiquities..." arguably one of the first major works of American archaeology, might have had its beginnings in the surveys carried out by early city planners in order to draw property boundaries and street rights-of-way for this newly created town.

Other research supported by the American Antiquarian Society to document archaeological sites included Increase A. Lapham's survey of mounds in Wisconsin and the groundbreaking 1848 study by E.G. Squier and E.H. Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the*

Mississippi Valley (Joyce 1981: 307). Again, it is important to mention that all three of these individuals were contributing to archaeology avocationally; Lapham was an entrepreneurial surveyor and map maker while Squier was a newspaperman and Davis was a physician (Edmonds 1985; Willey and Sabloff 1990: 35).

As with the nationally oriented historical and philosophical societies, an interest in Native American history led many state and local historical societies to also engage in what could be called, generously in many cases, proto-archaeological research. The work carried out by these organizations was manifold, with their facilities frequently serving as repositories for local or state historical records and artifacts, acting as libraries or museums. They also published historical works and in other ways acted to preserve and disseminate local historical knowledge for the benefit of the public. The Massachusetts Historical Society was founded by the Rev. Jeremy Belknap in 1791 and it holds the title of the nation's first historical society (Tucker 1995). The formation of this organization was followed in 1804 by that of the New York Historical Society and subsequently by other state historical societies in Pennsylvania, Tennessee and throughout New England, the Southeast and the Midwest in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s (Dulnap 1944; Mason 1995; Whitehill 1962).

Logically, the material and information collected and made available by historical societies in this period varied widely based on the history of the state in question, and the interests and abilities of their organizers. The early efforts of New England's historical societies, mostly founded in the 1820s, tended to focus on colonial and revolutionary history (with the exception of Massachusetts, which also collected nationally significant information from outside of its boundaries), while the founding documents and published works of societies from the Midwestern states frequently reflect an interest in the Native American history which was an

obvious part of their landscape (Silvestro 1995). Indeed, some variation of the phrase “aboriginal history” appears in the mission statements or founding documents of the Historical Society of Michigan, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and the Chicago Historical Society, among others (Dulnap 1944: Mason 1995). The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio published Harrison’s “Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of Ohio” (Harrison 1839). Increase Lapham, in addition to carrying out mound survey work sponsored by the American Antiquarian Society, was also a Vice President of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1855). The founder of the Tennessee Antiquarian Society, Judge John Haywood, also authored the *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee* (Dulnap 1944: 194,209).

While it is easy to criticize the works produced by local and state historical societies in this era as being of mixed quality, it is important to remember that in many cases these groups were alone in their efforts to document and communicate what they saw as valuable history to the rest of the nation. These individuals were in most cases not writing with a scholar’s eye for detail, expecting review by the handful of learned individuals in east coast universities, but were instead working to communicate that their home state, or for that matter their territory, held something of significance that the rest of the world should be aware of. While these two purposes do not necessarily conflict, the latter should not be seen as a failed attempt at the former.

To put it diplomatically, archaeology in the early years of the republic was exceedingly democratic. It was led by farmers, merchants, clergymen and civic boosters applying their limited knowledge and resources to the questions raised as they spread across the continent, displacing those with the strongest cultural connection to the mounds. While this allowed

anyone with an interest to become involved in writing the nation's history, it also provided no way of separating the good ideas from the bad, and it had tremendously destructive effects on archaeological sites throughout the country. Although still exceedingly crude by modern standards, events in the latter half of the nineteenth century would encourage archaeology's growth and acceptance as a branch of anthropology, in the process creating a measure of distance between those who were able to devote their careers to the production of archaeological knowledge, and those who engaged in archaeology as a personal interest or hobby.

Mid-Late 19th Century – Development of Professional Archaeologists

Until the mid nineteenth century, archaeologists and the archaeologically inclined general public were essentially one and the same. This began to change in the late nineteenth century as the nation developed an intellectual support system that better reflected the needs and demands of the country as a whole. With the rise of museums and universities throughout the country also came the rise of experts associated with those institutions, individuals who used archaeology as a tool for furthering anthropological research. While a great deal of archaeology was still carried out by self-trained and self-styled experts, the professional anthropologists adopted theoretical frameworks and methodologies that began to improve the ability of archaeology to answer questions about the past, moving archaeology beyond the realm of antiquarianism. By the turn of the century it was clear that these professionals and the archaeologically inclined public had become two distinct groups.

In 1848 Ephraim G. Squier and Edwin H. Davis published their survey of Native American mounds titled *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* with the assistance of the Smithsonian Institute, which had only just been founded in 1846 (Squier and Davis 1848; Trigger 1989: 106,107). This publication has been widely cited as a major event in the

professionalization of American archaeology, and in some cases the high quality surveys and sketches are the only remaining records of mounds that were later destroyed by urbanization, agriculture, looting or other forces (Meltzer 1998; Trigger 1989: 106,107; Willey and Sabloff 1990: 35). More significant than the individual publication itself, however, was the fact that it was partly financed by the Smithsonian, and that the Secretary of the Smithsonian, Joseph Henry, edited the publication with the goal of maintaining an objective representation of the mounds themselves (Willey and Sabloff 1990: 35,36). In subsequent years, the Smithsonian would continue to carry out its own research and set the standard for others to follow.

As director of the Smithsonian Institute's Bureau of Ethnology from its inception in 1879 until his death in 1902, John Wesley Powell played a major and well documented role in the centralization of archaeological authority, and in the development of the use of archaeology as a tool for use in North American anthropology (Meltzer, 1985; Meltzer, 2003; Willey and Sabloff 1990: 41-49). And Powell was not alone in his efforts. Under Powell's direction at the Smithsonian, Cyrus Thomas executed an extensive agenda of surveying and documenting Native American mounds to a consistently professional standard, and he used those studies and the Smithsonian's reputation to authoritatively conclude that the mounds were built by the ancestors of modern Native Americans (Willey and Sabloff 1990). Unlike earlier work on the mounds, which had been published primarily by historical and philosophical societies in their proceedings and edited by men who were essentially enthusiastic amateurs, Thomas's work was being published directly by the Bureau of Ethnology, and in fledgling scientific journals such as *Science*, *American Anthropologist*, *The American Naturalist*, and *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of Fine Arts* (Thomas 1880; 1890; 1894; 1896). The articles in

these journals would have been peer-reviewed by top scholars in the field, not by individuals from a mix of professional backgrounds as would have been the case a generation earlier.

Twenty years after the founding of the Smithsonian, the other archaeological heavyweight of the late nineteenth century came into existence. Harvard University's Peabody Museum was founded in 1866, and was led by Fredric Ward Putnam beginning in 1875 (Willey and Sabloff 1990: 43). During his tenure at the Peabody Museum, Putnam was responsible for many accomplishments, including: 1) a dramatic expansion of the museum's artifact collections and anthropological library, 2) the creation of arguably the most rigorous Ph.D. program in anthropology nationwide, and 3) contributing to the founding of the scholarly journals *American Anthropologist*, *The American Naturalist*, and *Science* (Browman 2002: 510-512). Putnam also worked with others to form the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Anthropological Association, several additional anthropology programs at universities and museums such as Columbia and the University of California at Berkeley, and was the chief organizer of "Department M" of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, which introduced visitors from throughout the country and the world to the new science of Anthropology (Browman 2002; Moorehead 1893). Through the Museum, Putnam also purchased and protected the Serpent Mound in Adams County, Ohio, which was then deeded to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society to hold as a public park (Brown 1942; Lee 2006: 19). It is not without reason that Willey and Sabloff describe Putnam as the "Professionalizer of American archaeology" (Willey and Sabloff 1990: 45).

All of this professionalization, however, should not be interpreted to mean that the amateur archaeological enthusiast had left the scene. Quite the opposite had occurred. The proliferation of local and state scientific societies that had taken place in the first half of the

nineteenth century was only briefly interrupted by the Civil War. The ease with which information could move about the country following the rise of the telegraph helped to fuel curiosity about the natural and cultural wonders, spurring an increase in scientific societies across the country. In the years between 1866 and 1900, two hundred and fifty five new scientific societies were founded in the United States, compared to eighty three in the years prior to 1866 (Goldstein 2008). The increased availability of information about the continent's natural history led to an increase in collecting specimens and samples from exotic locations, which, in turn, frequently required the construction of museums. In some cases, the loss of a valuable collection to a city was felt so keenly that it added momentum for the creation of a suitable museum. An 1867 New York Times article laments the loss of the collection of "relics obtained from the ancient monuments of the Mississippi Valley" collected by E. H. Davis (of *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* fame) after Davis sold the collection to an English museum (The New York Times, 13 October 1867: 8). The paper chastises the city's leaders for not having developed a museum: "Who will take the initiative in doing for New York what Mr. Peabody has done for Cambridge" (The New York Times, 13 October 1867: 8). Within two years New York's American Museum of Natural History had been established (The New York Times, 28 April, 1871: 8)

The implication of this late nineteenth century increase in scientific societies and museums is clear: while local organizations may no longer have been at the forefront of the scientific community, the public was still very much interested in the science being carried out by experts. By 1893, this dynamic had at least on paper become accepted in the world of anthropology. In his article reporting on the exhibits of Department M at the 1893 World's Fair, Moorehead informs the readers of the *North American Review* that:

To the man of means the science offers a pleasant and profitable occupation. He can aid the explorers, contribute to the support of a museum or help a worthy investigator publish the result of his observations. In return for his outlay he receives the commendation of intelligent people, and the assurance that he has taught the world something new concerning man and his works (Moorehead 1893: 509).

Thus it was clear that the appropriate course of action for the “man of means” was no longer to carry out an investigation on the mound in his back yard as Thomas Jefferson had done, but rather it was to support the professionally trained to carry out their work. This was precisely the model that would produce some of the most significant archaeological activity of the late nineteenth century (Fowler 1986: 139; Snead 1999).

Regardless of the cause, once disturbed, an archaeological site cannot be recreated, and the museum rush of the late nineteenth century continued to inflict tremendous damage on American Indian sites throughout the country as amateurs, archaeologists and professional pot-hunters descended upon sites previously unknown to European-Americans (Fowler 1986: Snead 1999). By 1881, the impact of westward expansion on the Native American sites of the Southwest was too severe even for Euro-Americans to ignore. Adolph Bandelier’s description of the sad state of the Pecos ruins in New Mexico, parts of which had been dismantled for raw materials by settlers or plundered by treasure hunters, helped to galvanize the archaeological community in calling for some type of protection for the Native American ruins of the region (Fowler 1986: 142; Lee 2006: 17,18). By 1889, interest in protecting one site in particular, Casa Grande south of Phoenix Arizona, was sufficient to move Congress to hear the pleas of a group of prominent Bostonians and set aside funds to preserve the standing ruin; President Harrison subsequently protected the site as an archaeological reservation in 1892 (Fowler 1986; Lee 2006: 19,20). This was the first instance of the federal government becoming actively involved in the preservation of an archaeological site, and it provided a preview of the type of relationship

that would soon develop between professional archaeologists, private individuals and the federal government.

Professionalization Continues – Moving Beyond Antiquarianism

The destruction documented in 1881 by Bandelier continued largely unabated throughout the southwest for the next twenty-five years. Sites such as Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon and many others were greatly harmed by artifact removal, sometimes with the pieces finding their ways to museums, but just as often finding their way into private collections (Lee 2006; Rogers 2005; Snead 1999). In response to the growing visibility of the problem of looting and site destruction, and to the increased organization and reputation of the archaeological community, Theodore Roosevelt signed the Antiquities Act of 1906 into law for the purpose of protecting archaeological sites located on federally owned land (Lee 2001; McManamon 1999). The Act was significant for a number of reasons, some of which speak more directly to the relationship between professional and amateur archaeologists than others. The legislation was most significant to the nation as a whole because it granted the President of the United States the authority to unilaterally create National Monuments from existing federally owned lands (Harmon et al. 2006).

The Act's significance for the development of the relationship between professional archaeologists and the archaeologically inclined public, however, arises in some of the Act's other provisions. The first paragraph of the Act made it a federal crime to disturb historic or prehistoric ruins situated on federal land without the permission of the federal department responsible for the management of that land (16 USC 431-433). This meant that there was no longer any legal ambiguity about whether an individual could visit ruins on federal land without permission and walk off with an archaeological souvenir. If that person were found to have done

so, they could be fined five hundred dollars and or imprisoned for ninety days (16 USC 431). Additionally, this principle acknowledged that these sites were valuable, were worth protecting, and that they were not to be casually destroyed for personal gain.

The second major effect of the Antiquities Act on the relationship between professional archaeologists and the non-professional public was the enshrinement of the principle that archaeological excavations on federal lands should be carried out by experts and for the benefit of the public (McManamon 1999: 4-6). Section 3 reads as follows:

That permits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archaeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity upon the lands under their respective jurisdictions may be granted by the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and War to institutions which they may deem properly qualified to conduct such examination, excavation, or gathering, subject to such rules and regulation as they may prescribe: Provided, That the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken for the benefit of reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects, and that the gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums (16 USC 433).

Simply put, individuals without the proper credentials would not be permitted by the Secretary of the Interior, Agriculture or War to dig on federal lands. Conversely, archaeologists who did have the university degrees, the scientific excavation methodologies and museum backing were now the only parties who could legally access those sites on federal land. Professional archaeologists had just been handed the keys to the kingdom.

To fully appreciate the magnitude of this proclamation, and the location of its greatest effect, it has to be understood just how much land the federal government owned when the Antiquities Act was signed in 1906, and therefore how much land was directly affected by its passage. According to the U.S. Statistical Abstract prepared for 1906, the total land mass of the United States, including Alaska and the areas of the Southwest and West that had not yet gained

statehood, was 1, 937,144,960 acres (3,026,789 square miles) (Department of Commerce and Labor 1906: 18). Of that total, the federal government owned and identified just over 792 million acres as “Unappropriated and Unreserved” public lands (Department of Commerce and Labor 1906: 21). Of that total, roughly 368 million acres were in Alaska, leaving approximately 424 million acres of land in the continental United States under Federal ownership (Department of Commerce and Labor 1906: 21). The jurisdictions with the most unappropriated land, excluding Alaska, were Nevada, Montana, New Mexico and Arizona, respectively (Department of Commerce and Labor 1906: 21). Not surprisingly, of those National Monuments proclaimed by Presidents of the United States through the Antiquities Act, the number west of the Mississippi outnumber those in the east by a count of 109 to 19 (Harmon et al. 2006: 288-297; Winter 2010).

Developing a Framework for Collaboration between Professional and Avocational Archaeologists

The early twentieth century saw a significant expansion in the number of ways the public could gain access to archaeological sites. Rather than being limited to those locations within their immediate vicinity, the increasingly mobile public could visit archaeological sites contained in National Monuments and other federal properties. They could experience the wide variety of museums that had developed over the late nineteenth century and which had since become mature institutions with major collections. They could increasingly enroll in university programs in archaeology and anthropology at their state universities. And perhaps most significantly in terms of learning about their local archaeological past, non-professionals could join their state archaeological society and participate in the state archaeological survey, working alongside professional archaeologists who operated from a local university or museum.

In 1919, the recently formed National Research Council organized its Division of Anthropology and Psychology, which created as one of its projects the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys (National Research Council, Division of Anthropology and Psychology 2011; Guthe 1967). This committee was formed in part because the existing enthusiasm for archaeology among non-professionals was, as it had for many years, manifesting itself in ways that were destructive to the nation's archaeological sites (Guthe 1967: 434). Among professional archaeologists, techniques had continued to become more sophisticated through the years. Recording and understanding soil stratigraphy, for example, had become an increasingly important part of the archaeological process (Trigger 1989: 121,122; Willey and Sabloff 1990: 84-88). The Committee on State Archaeological Surveys sought to harness the enthusiasm of amateur diggers by encouraging them to work in cooperation with professional archaeologists in the area, thereby increasing awareness of current techniques and hopefully minimizing the uninformed destruction of archaeological sites (Guthe 1967: 434).

Although the nature of the work carried out in these surveys varied from state to state, the annual updates issued by the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys appearing in *American Anthropologist* provide some insight into the scope and value of the work they produced. For example, the 1924 "Notes on State Archaeological Surveys," compiled by A.V. Kidder from local contributions details the work carried out by the Wisconsin Archaeological Society, which had for years been one of the more well-established state archaeological societies (Kidder 1924: 587). In the early twenties, members of the Society were working with professionals from the State Historical Museum to identify and survey the state's archaeological sites. The Wisconsin Archaeological Society also owned and operated two mound sites as public parks (Azatlan Mound Park in Lake Mills and Man Mound Park in Baraboo), and they had developed

interpretive signage for other mound sites located within other state parks (Kidder 1924: 587).

The same year, members of the State Historical Society of Iowa developed a bibliography of all archaeological work that had been carried out in the state, mailed out surveys to 1500 individuals (though only appx. 100 replied) to locate the owners of archaeological collections or those who had information about sites whose locations might not be widely known (Kidder 1924: 584).

According to the author, these interviews, site visits and surveys doubled the amount of archaeological knowledge available for the counties that were included in the survey that year (Kidder 1924: 584).

These two examples, the Wisconsin example in particular, illustrate an important fact about the type of work that is best accomplished by professional archaeologists as compared to the work that is best carried out by local archaeological enthusiasts. Native American effigy and burial mounds had attracted researchers from outside the state for generations; these researchers were most aware of current archaeological techniques, and were (and continue to be) best equipped to answer specific questions about the scientific significance of the mounds. The people who managed those sites, however, were the residents who could be present on a year-round basis, and who wanted to commit their personal time and energy to an activity that they saw as important. They were responsible for maintaining the integrity of the site and turning it into a community asset. Without the local archaeology enthusiasts present to protect these areas, “science” would surely have lost these sites and Wisconsin would have lost two unique cultural and recreational assets. The long-term fate of archaeological sites, and their availability to be enjoyed by the public, is determined by the balance found by these two groups.

The Committee on State Archaeological Surveys clearly recognized the need for a strong relationship between the public and the professional. In a 1929 statement of policies, Carl Guthe

outlined ten policies describing the work carried out by the Committee (National Research Council, Division of Behavioral Sciences, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys 1929). After a few lines about its advisory and organizational nature, the statement identifies the organization's work as being "...to encourage and guide non-professional archaeologists who, through training and experience, are equipped to render real service to our science" (National Research Council, Division of Behavioral Sciences, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys 1929: 1). Following this stated mission, in 1930, the Committee published its *Guide Leaflet for Amateur Archaeologists*, which stressed the destructive nature of pot-hunting, of indiscriminant digging without carefully recording contextual information, and curio-collecting (National Research Council, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys 1930). The leaflet provides basic guidelines on how to survey sites prior to their disturbance, and after emphasizing the willingness of professionals from the state university or museum to advise and work with the amateur, it proceeds with instructions for how to establish a grid, excavate, and record a site (National Research Council, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys 1930).

While the leaflet provides instructions for carrying out an excavation, it doesn't completely abrogate its professional standards, stressing throughout that archaeological excavations are not something to be undertaken lightly, or without training:

Every amateur who desires to carry out an excavation should first of all receive instruction from a trained archaeologist. The ability to see the record in the ground frequently depends upon training and experience. A beginner, with the best of intentions and with every attempt at care, often misses stratification lines, or fail[s] to recognize the difference between disturbed and undisturbed deposits...Your State University or Museum, any member of the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys of the National Research Council, and particularly the institution furnishing these instructions will gladly assist you. You are urged not to excavate without this instruction unless it becomes necessary to save the record of a site which is about to be destroyed (National Research Council,

Division of Anthropology and Psychology, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys 1930: 8).

The committee clearly wanted to include the public in its work, but also wanted to maintain some level of professional standards while doing so.

Historical Archaeology and the Public

The events of the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties had a tremendous impact on the practice of archaeology in the United States, and on the way it was understood by the public. This era saw the first significant application of the principles of historical archaeology-pairing archaeological research with historical documentation-during the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, thereby laying the groundwork for archaeology's relationship with the field of historic preservation. Historical archaeology also helped to expand ideas about what eras of history could be usefully addressed through archaeological research. This historical content created a new route by which the public could connect with its past. Beyond historical archaeology, other events of the nineteen thirties radically altered how the public interacted with archaeological sites. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal relief-work programs led to archaeology being carried out on scales never before seen in the United States, exposing workers to archaeology, but also leading to the creation of many significant archaeologically oriented parks, both for the National Park Service and at the state level. Recognizing the need for an organization that would cross the boundaries between the professional archaeologist and the ever-growing ranks of those members of the public interested in the field, the Society for American Archaeology was formed in December of 1934, continuing the work of the National Research Council's Committee on State Archaeological Surveys and becoming a vocal advocate for the advancement of American archaeology (Guthe 1967).

Along with the restoration of Mount Vernon in the mid-19th Century, and the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg must be considered one of the most significant developments in the history of preservation. The restoration project begun by local minister W.A.R. Goodwin and financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. became the rule by which all other restorations were measured, largely because of the degree to which the project's technicians, including the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, took Rockefeller's mandate for historical accuracy to heart (Hosmer 1981: 11-73). This commitment required first locating all available architectural information that could be used in the restoration process, including that which could be gained through archaeological research. The Capitol Building in Williamsburg provides a defining example of how archaeology could work in conjunction with historical research to produce a more accurate understanding of the past. The Capitol that presently sits at the eastern terminus of Duke of Gloucester St. is a reconstruction in which the precise location of the building and the shape of the building's footprint were determined through archaeological excavations, while many of the aboveground details were identified through exceptionally thorough historical research. In 1929, Mary Goodwin discovered copper engravings of several significant Williamsburg structures, including the Capitol, buried in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and those engravings played a major role in maintaining the historical accuracy of the reconstruction of the Capitol Building, as well as parts of the Wren Building (Hosmer 1981: 37-41, 60). Colonial Williamsburg thus created the first highly successful, and highly visible, example of archaeologists applying their skills within a historical context, and they did so while working with the people who would soon be involved in crafting federal preservation policy during the 1930s.

The same techniques would also be put to use at Jamestown and Yorktown, in the newly formed Colonial National Historical Park. At Colonial, particularly at the Jamestown section of the park, Superintendent Floyd Flickinger described the problem of preservation, rehabilitation, and interpretation at the site as requiring both the work of archaeologists and historians, describing the system that became known as historical archaeology:

In order to determine the story of Jamestown, we are now busily engaged in an archaeological program which is revealing, one by one, the interesting foundations and artifacts of the once important capital of the Colony of Virginia. While the archaeologists have been busy with spade and trowel, the historians have been diligently studying the documents related to Jamestown and constantly searching for new source materials (Flickinger 1936: 354).

This methodology would continue to develop at Colonial and in other contexts, including St. Augustine, Florida before the end of the 1930s.

The preservation legislation of a generation earlier, the Antiquities Act of 1906, had reinforced the idea that archaeology could be used in service to science. The Historic Sites Act of 1935, recognizing the mutually beneficial qualities of archaeology and historic preservation that had begun to play out at Williamsburg and at Colonial National Historical Park, strengthened the nascent relationship between archaeology and historic sites research while dramatically expanding the role of the National Park Service in the preservation and interpretation of historic and archaeological sites to the public (Hosmer 1981: 578-716; Orser 2001: 622,623). By putting the administration of so many significant historical and archaeological sites in the hands of an agency charged with preserving those sites for public use, archaeology had truly made a quantum leap towards the kind of heavy public engagement that would come to characterize the field at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Positioned as the National Park Service now was, at the forefront of the practice of historical archaeology in the United States, its archaeologists were coming face-to-face with the complexities of involving the public in archaeology. Writing in 1940, A.R. Kelley, Chief of the Archaeologic Sites Division of the Branch of Historic Sites of the National Park Service observed the following differences between archaeology carried out by a museum or university and that carried out by the Park Service:

In addition to the collection of scientific data in the field, and the preparation of such data and materials looking forward to publication, the Park Service must consider the preservation of the site, the original context or source of knowledge in situ, with a view to the maintenance of open-air museums and exhibits and the presentation educationally to the American public of the story unfolded on the site (Kelley 1940: 278,279).

In short, archaeology was no longer solely about the data to be gained, but rather it was about the process of introducing that data to the public.

The National Park Service was neither the only federal agency to become deeply involved in archaeology during the 1930s nor the only agency whose work resulted in a closer relationship between professional archaeologists and the public. Roosevelt's New Deal agencies, including the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), in addition to the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), put archaeology on a stage the size of which it had never before experienced (Fagette 1996; Haag 1985). The federal government's objectives of providing relief work to those in need combined with the high poverty rates and high concentrations of Native American mound sites found in the Southeast made the region a prime location to practice this unique form of archaeology (Fagette 1996: 22,23). Edwin Lyon's maps of the New Deal-era

Archaeology sites in the Southeast show eleven FERA archaeological sites, thirty three WPA sites and six TVA sites, scattered throughout the region (Lyon 1996: 29, 65, 125). Of course the Southeast was not the only region of the country to benefit from the joining of archaeology with New Deal relief work. In Phoenix, Odd Halseth, the city's archaeologist and the first director of the Pueblo Grande Museum, used PWA, CCC and WPA labor to continue excavations on the Pueblo Grande mound (Bostwick 1993b; Downum 1993; Wilcox 1993c).

The damming of the Tennessee River to generate hydroelectric power provided another opportunity for archaeology to be carried out on a large scale, though for TVA projects, the flooding of many parts of the Tennessee River Valley gave the work a salvage aspect that other projects did not necessarily have to face. TVA salvage archaeology can easily be seen as the grandfather of the Cultural Resources Management approach that would transform the fundamental character of archaeology in the United States in the late 1960s and 1970s. With oversight from the National Research Council's Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, and directed by William S. Webb of the University of Kentucky (who, incidentally, was a physicist by profession, not a formally trained archaeologist) the archaeological work carried out by the TVA in the 1930s prevented the loss of numerous significant prehistoric sites that would otherwise have been lost to flooding (Wendorf and Thompson 2002: 318,319). After World War II, the work generated by TVA archaeologists and the scope of the proposed damming of western rivers led to a crisis for archaeology. In 1944, the Army Corps of Engineers and the predecessor to the Bureau of Reclamation developed the Pick-Sloan Plan, which planned for the construction of 107 new dams on the Missouri River alone, and which would have "destroyed perhaps 90% of the evidence of human use of the main stem of the Missouri River" (Lawrence 2005; Jennings 1985: 282). This led to the creation of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological

Remains (CRAR) in 1945, which developed the River Basin Surveys Project to handle the recovery of archaeological material in dam projects nationwide (Jennings 1985). The River Basin Surveys project lasted through 1969 and was carried out by National Park Service and Smithsonian personnel in conjunction with local universities and archaeological societies (Jennings 1985: 286-288). The benefits of salvage archaeology for federal projects had been demonstrated in the 1930s, kept alive through the 1950s, and would be greatly expanded in 1966 and 1969 through the National Historic Preservation Act and the National Environmental Policy Act.

The post-war era saw a continued expansion of the public's interest in archaeology, and the nation's increased mobility and prosperity provided many with the opportunity to engage with archaeology in more places and in more ways than ever before. Rising awareness of the value of historical archaeology and local history encouraged avocational archaeologists, such as Roland Robbins in Massachusetts, to apply their own skills to the question of finding archaeological sites (Linebaugh 2005). In 1945, Robbins, who was a house painter by trade, did his own historical, landscape and archaeological research and was able to identify the exact location of Henry David Thoreau's cabin at Walden Pond (Linebaugh 2005). Following his research and excavation of the Thoreau site, Robbins undertook the excavation of the Saugus Iron Works, carried out under the supervision of the First Iron Works Association (Linebaugh 2005). Robbins's methods did have their detractors, however. He worked during the era when historical archaeology itself was only just developing its methodology and techniques, and his "do-it-yourself" approach, which was not far removed from professional best practices in 1945, eventually put him at odds with many formally trained historical archaeologists by the 1960s as

archaeological methodologies and beliefs about site significance gradually became more refined (Linebaugh 2005).

Though remarkable for his success despite his lack of academic credentials, Robbins was not alone in his fascination with archaeology during the post-war era. In 1952, the public image of archaeology was elevated still further with the publication of the English translation of *Gods, Graves & Scholars* (Ceram 2001 [1952]). Kurt W. Marek, publishing under the pseudonym of C.W. Ceram, brought stories of Pompeii, the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb, and lost Mayan cities to a popular audience in one easily accessible volume (Ceram 2001 [1952]). This helped to fuel public interest in the idea, if not the process, of archaeological discovery. A 1958 article in the New York Times titled "'Dig-It-Yourself' Archaeologists" cited *Gods, Graves & Scholars* as having kicked off the then current wave of enthusiasm for all things archaeological (Jones 1958). The article's author identified a bookseller as having described Ceram's book as "the biggest thing since Freud" (Jones 1958). In the article, the author observes that membership in organizations such as the New York chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America, the Eastern States Archaeological Federation, and the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology had each doubled between the beginning of the decade and 1958 (Jones 1958). Jones also picks up on the fact that while some archaeologists embraced the notion of public involvement, they did so cautiously. He gives the example of Dr. William A. Ritchie, the New York state archaeologist, whose crew included some volunteer labor to excavate a site discovered by a private General Electric employee who had begun exploring a site and who then called Ritchie's office (Jones 1958). Ritchie's observation was that then, as now, volunteers can contribute to archaeology, but they must be under close supervision: "No man who needs surgery... would trust a knife in the hands of an amateur, would he?" (Jones 1958: 50). The article also cites the

example of Roland Robbins, however, as providing a model of an amateur who had parlayed his avocational interests into a career without first receiving the blessing of the academy (Jones 1958).

Clearly, in the 1950s, archaeologists and the interested members of the public were still working to develop the type of structures that would allow non-professionals to work productively alongside the professionals without doing damage to the resources themselves. The minutes of the 1967 Society for American Archaeology annual meeting, published in *American Antiquity*, include an interesting historical snapshot of where archaeology had been, and where it was about to go in terms of its relationship with the public. They identify Charles R. McGimsey III as requesting that the Society lift a censure that had been placed on the State of Arkansas in 1958, following the Arkansas Parks and Publicity Commission's decision to publish a brochure inviting the public to visit the state and "dig for Indian relics" (Society for American Archaeology 1967). In 1957, McGimsey had begun working as a professor at the University of Arkansas and as the assistant museum curator at the University Museum, and in 1959, he was directed by the state legislature to begin developing a framework for a state archaeology program (McGimsey 2004). By 1967, the state had created the Arkansas Archaeological Survey, which established a network of archaeological research stations at universities and state parks across the state (McGimsey 2004). The Archaeological Survey made training the public in archaeological research techniques a priority, and the process of its creation introduced McGimsey to some of the skills he would subsequently use when working to draft the Moss-Bennett Act in the early 1970s. Not surprisingly, given the advances that the state had made during McGimsey's tenure in Arkansas, the censure was lifted (Society for American Archaeology 1967).

Archaeology and the Public in the Modern Era

The mid-twentieth-century saw the continued development of federal involvement in the protection of archaeological resources, but it was the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) and the subsequent series of regulations including section 4f of the Transportation Act (1966), the National Environmental Policy Act (1969), and the Moss-Bennett act of 1974 that brought about the “sea-change” in terms of how archaeological resources were managed in the United States, and that laid the foundations for the development of public archaeology in the subsequent decades. The contributions of NHPA to preservation in general and archaeology in particular are quite profound, and will not all be detailed here, but along with creating the National Register of Historic Places and creating a formal infrastructure for historic preservation at the state level, Section 106 of NHPA proscribed a review process for federal projects that required an assessment of the damage that proposed projects would cause to historic resources. NEPA dovetailed with NHPA, making it clear that potential impacts to historic resources were to be considered alongside environmental resources when federal agencies evaluated the consequences of their proposed actions (Hutt et al. 1999: 75). With regard to the passage of the Moss Bennett Act in 1974, McGimsey described its effects as follows:

Authorization of all federal agencies to fund archaeology was the major accomplishment of the Moss-Bennett legislation. But I believe two other unanticipated results were almost equally important in their long term implications. It mobilized the entire profession with respect to the importance of legislation and legislators to the discipline of archaeology, and, second, it served effectively to alert the federal agencies to their archaeological responsibilities in all areas and under all legislation (McGimsey 1989: 75).

The Moss-Bennett legislation allowed up to one percent of a federal project’s budget to be applied to archaeological research. This legislation dramatically increased the amount of

archaeology being carried out in the United States, and much of it was being carried out with public funds, ultimately for the benefit of the citizens of the United States. During the mid-1970s, archaeologists such as McGimsey helped to develop strategies for how archaeologists could successfully respond to the new demands of federal legislation, and in the process played a major role in determining the shape the field of cultural resource management (McGimsey 1991).

At the local level, interest in historic preservation and archaeology continued to grow, as the benefits of preservation and archaeology became more visible to the public. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, many cities had seen a need to hire their own staff archaeologists. The City of Alexandria, VA hired Pam Cressey as its first full-time professional archaeologist in 1977, Sherene Baugher became New York City's first city archaeologist in 1980, the City of Boston created its city archaeologist position in 1983, as did the City of Baltimore, and St. Augustine, FL created its city archaeologist position in December of 1986 (Bennetts 1982; City of Boston 2010; City of St. Augustine, 1986; Comer 1986; Cressey 1977). The work carried out by these city programs varied from location to location, but during the late 1980s and 1990s, many professionals felt that one of their most important jobs was providing the public with a first-hand look at archaeological practice.

This was the attitude that led to the development and expansion of several ideas at the federal and state levels, such as "Archaeology Week" and "Site Steward" programs, that helped to make professional archaeology more available to the public and to develop a more formal relationship between the two groups. During the 1980s and 1990s, the concept of the "State Archaeology Week" expanded from its Arizona roots to become popular throughout the United States. Responding to the continued vandalism of some of the state's most significant Native

American sites, Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt formed the Governor's Archaeology Advisory Group in 1983 (Hoffman and Lerner 1988). Along with advocating for the creation of Homolovi Ruins State Park, the Advisory Group developed the idea of Archaeology Week as an opportunity for the public to learn more about the state's archaeological heritage (Hoffman and Lerner 1988). The event originally included displays in the state capitol, and a handful of events for the public, but it quickly became much larger, incorporating site tours, lectures, exhibits and demonstrations (Hoffman and Lerner 1988). The idea quickly caught on and spread throughout the country (Greengrass et al. 1999). According to the Society for American Archaeology, 40 states now organize some type of Archaeology Week or Archaeology Month (Society for American Archaeology 2011). Most archaeology weeks or months have since become cooperative efforts between SHPOs, state chapters of professional archaeology organizations, private businesses and avocational groups (Greengrass et al. 1999).

"Site Steward" programs represent another form of public engagement that became popular during the 1980s and 1990s, throughout the country but particularly in western states with large public land holdings. This type of program generally recruits interested volunteers to visit, monitor, record, and share information about an archaeological site with the relevant public land managing agency or with the SHPO. Site stewards can help to provide data about whether and how quickly a site is degrading, being vandalized, or looted. They can play an educational role for other members of the public, and their presence can also discourage others from damaging the site.

Founded in 1984, the Texas Archaeological Stewardship Network is one of the oldest such programs in the country (Texas Historical Commission 2009; Arizona Site Stewards 2011). Stewards work with the Texas Historical Commission (which is home to the Texas SHPO) to

record new sites when found, monitor known sites, nominate sites to the National Register for Historic Preservation when appropriate, work to protect archaeological sites through conservation easements, educate the public, mentor youth and contribute to Texas Historical Commission publications, among other activities (Texas Historical Commission 2009). Stewards in the Texas program also work with private collectors to document existing archaeological collections, and they may work with the Texas Historical Commission to conduct emergency archaeological salvage operations when needed (Texas Historical Commission 2009).

Another strong site stewards program can be found, perhaps not surprisingly, in Arizona. The same group of archaeological advisors that developed the Archaeology Week program also developed the state's Site Steward Program. Modeled on the program in Texas, and a similar program in British Columbia, the Arizona Site Steward program was officially created by the Governor's Archaeology Advisory Commission on June 5, 1986 (Arizona Site Stewards 2011: 8). In 1992 the program counted more than 400 trained Site Stewards, and by 2007 the number had more than doubled to 820 active Stewards (Arizona Site Stewards 2011: 10). As is the case for the Texas Site Stewards, the Arizona program requires that stewards be guided by the program's code of ethics, that they uphold all federal, state and local preservation laws, and that they receive basic training in how to monitor the sites and assess their condition prior to becoming active stewards (Arizona Site Stewards 2011; Texas Historical Commission 2009).

Two developments that began in the late 1980s and early 1990s and continue to develop in the present, demonstrate how the voice of the public in archaeological issues has expanded far beyond its previous boundaries. The most significant national legislation with respect to the relationship between archaeology and Native American tribes was the development

and passage of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990. As discussed above, Native American burial sites had long been targeted by museums, scientists, proto-scientists, and the simply curious as European settlers spread across the continent. Countless graves, including those excavated by Thomas Jefferson, Squier and Davis and their successors, had been destroyed in the process. As a result, the remains of many Native Americans and their associated burial objects had become items in the collections of museums across the country.

NAGPRA sought to fundamentally alter the relationship between the federal government and Native American tribes with respect to the treatment of human remains and their associated burial objects (25 USC 3001 et seq.). When passed, NAGPRA required all museums, universities and institutions that received federal funds, with the significant exception of the Smithsonian which was guided by the National Museum of the American Indian Act, to work with Native American tribes to develop and publish an inventory of human remains and associated funerary objects in their possession. Once identified, the Native American tribe possessing the strongest cultural affiliation with those remains or objects may request their return, and the agency or museum currently in possession of those remains must return them to the tribe. NAGPRA also made clear that Native American remains and cultural property discovered on Federal land belonged to the Native American family or tribe with the closest cultural affiliation to those remains.

In July, 2010, nearly twenty years after the passage of NAGPRA, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) issued a report examining the degree to which federal agencies had complied with the requirements of the act (Government Accountability Office 2010). The report found that only 55% of all of the Native American remains inventoried by federal agencies had

been published in notices of inventory completion (Government Accountability Office 2010: 22). The three agencies that have been the most successful in identifying NAGPRA-relevant holdings were the Army Corps of Engineers, the Forest Service and the National Park Service (Government Accountability Office 2010: 19). As of September 30, 2009, the federal government had identified 16,302 culturally identifiable human remains, and 13,519 culturally unidentifiable remains in notices of inventory completion (Government Accountability Office 2010: 23). Also published in notices of inventory completion were 193,324 culturally identifiable funerary objects, and 66,918 culturally unidentifiable funerary objects (Government Accountability Office 2010: 23). The notices of inventory completion are important because Native American remains and cultural objects must be identified and published before Native American tribes can request their repatriation under NAGPRA. Thus, if 55% of Native American remains believed to be possessed by federal agencies have been identified and published, 45% have not.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the administrative characteristics of each department and the resources available for NAGPRA compliance have both played a significant role in determining the success of the different agencies. According to NPS officials, Park Service units typically curate a large part of their own collections on site, and this facilitated NPS compliance with the inventory process while other agencies, such as the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Tennessee Valley Authority have struggled to identify their holdings (Government Accountability Office 2010:19-21). The report notes that all eight of the agencies it studied identified the lack of resources as a major obstacle to NAGPRA compliance. It points out that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has one curator for the 5.7 million objects in its collections across the agency (Government Accountability Office 2010: 28). Many of the agencies

identified in the report point out that creating inventories of historical collections receives a lower priority than complying with the provisions of NAGPRA that relate to new federal projects, complying with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, and complying with the National Environmental Policy Act, for example (Government Accountability Office 2010: 28). Clearly, while NAGPRA does represent a major shift in the relationship between the federal government and Native American tribes with relation to archaeology, there is still a great deal yet to be accomplished.

Until recently, the process of determining cultural affiliation had created something of a barrier to the effective implementation of those provisions of NAGPRA that would require the repatriation of Native American remains and grave goods found in federally funded museums and federal agencies. If remains and grave goods are identified as “culturally unidentifiable” it has generally been more difficult for Native American tribes to make claims for repatriation. However, as described on page 12378 of the Federal Register for March 15, 2010, NAGPRA has been amended to change the procedures to be followed regarding the disposition of culturally unidentifiable remains and grave goods. As amended, paragraph 10.10 of NAGPRA now requires “A museum or federal agency that is unable to prove that it has right of possession... to culturally unidentifiable human remains must offer to transfer control of the human remains to Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian Organizations...” Paragraph 10.10 of NAGPRA then explains that the highest order of priority for repatriation is to return the remains or grave goods to the Native American tribe in ownership of the land from which the remains were removed, followed by tribes that are recognized as aboriginal to the area from which the remains were recovered. Thus, at least in theory, the repatriation of these unidentified remains and grave

goods to the Native American tribes who own the land from which the remains were removed should take place much more quickly than it has to date.

NAGPRA is significant because it provides an exceptional example of the need for recognizing the bond between archaeological remains and the cultural and spiritual needs of those in the present. The relationship between archaeology and the public is obviously context specific; the material discovered through archaeology, the people who created those objects, the situation surrounding their discovery all shape the environment in which those remains will be understood as they re-enter the world. But within this context, recognizing the relationship between those in the present and the remains of their past pushes archaeology into the realm of politics, making it possible for archaeologists to play a role in building bridges, and achieving a measure of social justice for those who have long been marginalized by the historical mainstream.

Another well known example of the public expressing cultural and spiritual needs as they relate to archaeological remains comes from what is now the African Burial Ground National Monument in New York City. In 1987, the General Services Administration (GSA) began planning for the construction of a new office space in lower Manhattan. In 1989, GSA and the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation (ACHP) signed a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) outlining GSA's responsibilities in assessing the project's potential impact on historic resources for a building at 290 Broadway (Howson et al. 2006: 3). As a result of the MOA, GSA hired a private firm, Heritage Conservation and Interpretation, Inc. to investigate the proposed project's impact on the site's historical and archaeological resources (Howson et al. 2006: 4,5). HCI concluded that the site was once the location of the Colonial-era "Negros Burial Ground," but that construction in the 19th and 20th Centuries would have destroyed all but a very

small part of the burial ground (Howson et al. 2006: 3-5). There were questions from the beginning of the project, however, about the amount of pre-construction research carried out by HCI into the history of the site; early appeals for more thorough research were made by then City Archaeologist Sherene Baugher, the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, and John Jameson of the National Park Service, but those requests were not warmly embraced by the GSA (Baugher 2011). Excavation at the site began in September, 1991, and over the course of the next year, HCI excavated and removed the remains of over four hundred colonial-era Africans and African Americans (Harrington 1993). But the research design developed by HCI was clearly not sufficient for a site of this magnitude, and opposition to the priorities of the GSA and the methods used by HCI soon led to a very public struggle for control of the burial ground's fate (LaRoche and Blakey, 1997; MacDonald, 1992). In the face of this public opposition to the handling of the excavation, GSA turned what should have been hailed as a major discovery into a racially charged controversy that played out in the media because the agency had failed to understand (or failed to understand quickly enough) the meaning that the burial ground, once discovered, had to the African American community both in New York and nationwide (Dunlap, 1991; Dunlap, 1992; Harrington, 1993; LaRoche and Blakey, 1997; MacDonald, 1992; Orser, 2007). Many African Americans in New York felt that the GSA was not treating the site, the city's African American community members, or the agency's archaeological responsibilities with sufficient respect (Harrington 1993). Future governor David Patterson, then a State Senator representing Harlem and the Upper West Side, formed an oversight committee to monitor the excavation, and the group began lobbying for the involvement of African American anthropologists in the process of developing the excavation's research design (Harrington 1993). In December of 1991, the ACHP, the GSA and the NYC Landmarks Commission amended their

Memorandum of Agreement to require the GSA to develop a new research design, and to better define the agency's obligations with respect to excavation, analysis and report preparation, handling of remains, public involvement, reburial, curation and site interpretation (Howson et al. 2006: 5; National Park Service N.D.: 13). HCI continued to excavate until the end of June 1992, when the GSA replaced the small firm with John Milner Associates, a much larger company that had prior experience conducting African American historical archaeology in Philadelphia (Harrington 1993; Howson et al. 2006: 5). Earlier that spring, Michael Blakey, then of Howard University, had become involved with the project, consulting and participating in the GSA's public meetings and assembling a group of top African Diaspora scholars from the fields of anthropology, archaeology and history (Blakey 2004: 22; Howson et al. 2006: 5).

Excavations at the site were terminated at the end of July 1992, however, following a Congressional meeting called by Augustus Savage, Chairman of the House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Buildings and Grounds (Harrington 1993: 36). In the meeting, the GSA was excoriated by Rep. Savage for having disregarded its obligations under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, and in October 1992, a federal advisory committee was formed, consisting primarily of African-American community leaders and professionals, in order to guide the GSA in its efforts to live up to its responsibilities under Section 106 (Blakey 2004: 16). Late in 1992, Blakey was appointed Scientific Director of the African Burial Ground Project, and the post-excavation research sought to answer questions related to the cultural origins of the people interred at the Burial Ground, their physical quality of life, their transformations that might be seen, and information about resistance to slavery (Blakey 2004: 25).

Blakey and his colleagues operated from a perspective that differed radically from that which had been used by the previous archaeologists. Adopting a framework of publicly engaged and activist scholarship fueled in part by his prior exposure to the ideas of the World Archaeological Congress, Blakey chose to work with colleagues who had been influenced “by the heightened dialogue with indigenous peoples... that had recently led to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990” (Blakey, 1990: Blakey, 2004: 22,23). The use of a “bioarchaeological” approach, rather than a forensic approach, opened the site to telling the stories and making the connections between the human and cultural remains present at the burial ground and the questions the African American descendant communities wanted answered (Blakey 2004: 20,22).

In October 1992, President George H.W. Bush directed the GSA to cease construction on the portion of the site that contained the burials, and ordered (and funded) the redesign of the project to accommodate the construction of a museum and memorial at the site (Blakey 2004: 16; Harrington 1993: 36). Throughout the mid 1990s, the GSA worked with the National Park Service to develop a scope of work for interpreting the site for the public (National Park Service N.D.: 14,15). A memorial design competition was held, and in April 2005, a design by Rodney Leon was chosen for the memorial (National Park Service N.D.: 15). The site was designated a National Monument by President George W. Bush in 2006, under the authority of the Antiquities Act of 1906, and the memorial was opened to the public in 2007 (Lee 2007).

In one respect, New York’s African American population, and the nation as a whole, was fortunate that the GSA developed the site that contained the African Burial Ground. Had it been a private project, there would have been no mechanism to require Congressional investigation, Presidential intervention, National Monument status or Park Service interpretation.

It would have put a great deal more pressure on the local regulatory framework, which may or may not have been able to wring the same type of concessions from a private developer, even in the face of overwhelming public opposition. Because there was system of federal regulations in place, however, the country gained access to a wealth of knowledge about some of its earliest and least well documented ancestors. The eventual outcome of the African Burial Ground project demonstrates why it is important for archaeologists to consider the broader social and political contexts of their work.

The relationship between professional archaeologists and the public today has departed radically from historical precedent. While the cutting edge of archaeological practice once relied on new techniques that made history less accessible to the layman but more visible to the expert, and that applied a narrow definition of scientific value rather than contributing to a broader idea of the public good, many of today's archaeologists focus on developing tools to bring the public into the archaeological process, demonstrating the relevance of archaeology to the lives of those in the present. Writing in 1997 and foreshadowing some of the ideas that would gain currency among other archaeologists, Karolyn Smardz made an observation about some of her experiences in the Toronto public school system: "The Toronto example provides an interesting model for what can happen when archaeologists stop taking archaeology to the public for archaeology's sake and start doing it to meet the general public's educational, social, and cultural needs" (Smardz 1997: 103). Those educational, social and cultural needs represent tremendous opportunity for archaeologists seeking to demonstrate the value of their field to a wider audience. Multivocality is now a fact of life for archaeologists, and the ability of archaeology to flourish within this context, rather than fade, has improved community relations has opened the door to new research, and new types of work. Recognizing the situation of archaeology within a broader

social framework, in 2008 the Society for American Archaeology's Curriculum Committee published a model curriculum for a Master's degree in applied archaeology (Society for American Archaeology 2008). The contents of the recommended curriculum were developed partly for the purpose of introducing students to the issues surrounding the practice of CRM archaeology, but also with the goal of preparing students for working with the other members of the public that are now commonly engaged through archaeology (Society for American Archaeology 2008). The recommendations include coursework in preservation law, in interacting with descendant communities, in interpreting archaeological information for the public, and, also, as an elective, coursework in urban planning (Society for American Archaeology 2008). It is within this context that the current activities of public archaeology, and their ability to play a role in community development and planning work, can be best understood.

CHAPTER II

MUNICIPAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN ALEXANDRIA, VA

Alexandria Archaeology has rightly been recognized as being the best known and most successful of the nation's public archaeology programs (Sprinkle 2003: 257). Since the early 1960s, the City of Alexandria has used archaeology and historic preservation to connect local residents with a connection to their past. The character of the archaeology taking place in Alexandria differs from that of most Cultural Resource Management (CRM) work and from archaeology carried out in an academic environment by virtue of the nature of the relationship between the public and the archaeology. This is not a situation in which professionals are presenting archaeology to the public, although Alexandria Archaeology does that, or working with those members of the public who can volunteer, although it does that as well. Instead, the city's archaeology program is the manifestation of an ongoing discourse between the public and the archaeologists (Cressey 2010); the public pushes the archaeologists in unexpected directions and the archaeologists provide new information which shapes how the public understands the past and values its history. This relationship is perpetually evolving. In Alexandria, there simply is no clear line between where the city archaeology program ends and where the public begins.

Brief Introduction to the City of Alexandria

As with any historic site, Alexandria is a product of its geographic context and the historical forces that have guided human activity in that particular location. The city is located on the Potomac River, immediately to the southwest of what is now Washington, D.C. Like many other cities in the region, including Fredericksburg, VA; Dumfries, VA; and Georgetown (now part of the District of Columbia), Alexandria was created by the English to facilitate and

control the export of tobacco from Virginia plantations during the colonial period (MacMaster 1966; Pressier 1981; Reps 1965: 95-97). Alexandria was a thriving British port city, shipping agricultural and other products to cities in Europe and other parts of the world while importing manufactured goods from England and sugar, molasses and rum from the Caribbean (Pressier 1981; Smith and Miller 1989). By 1766, wheat had overtaken tobacco as the port's primary export (Pressier 1981). The city grew, prospered and in addition to its role in shipping, it developed the kind of small scale industries, crafts and business enterprises typical of a port town while still operating under the restrictions of British mercantilism (Smith and Miller 1989: 16). The city's development continued into the late colonial period, and its economic circumstances were strong at the start of the Revolutionary War.

The Revolution was a defining event in the history of the city. Alexandria's association with some of the principal figures of the Revolution, and the continued existence of the urban fabric of that era, allow the city to claim much of its historical significance today. George Washington's home, Mount Vernon, sits only a few miles from the city, and a warehouse built by one of his aides de camp still stands on the Alexandria waterfront (Riker 2008: 4). The Church where Washington worshipped, Christ Church, still stands, as does Gadsby's Tavern, which was frequented by Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe (Cressey 2002). Much of the residential housing stock in the oldest part of Alexandria, near the waterfront, dates from the Colonial or Revolutionary eras (Cox 1976).

After the Revolution, Alexandria continued to prosper as a shipping port and it became a center of commerce in a way that had not been possible while under British control. The city's merchant class expanded as it became easier to invest in a variety of commercial and industrial ventures (Pressier 1981). Landowners and merchants near the waterfront continued the process

of “banking out” the land by filling in the original crescent shaped shoreline of the city as they built wharves and located warehouses, stores, and other enterprises (Miller 1991; Pulliam 2007; Riker 2009; Shephard 2001). By 1798, the city had completely filled in its bay, in the process gaining two city blocks and a major street, Union Street (Shephard 2001: 6).

In 1790, the Residency Act had established that the nation’s capitol would be located on the Potomac River (Reps, 1965 [1980], p. 241). When George Washington was given the task of identifying the exact location on the Potomac to be used for the District of Columbia, its boundaries were drawn to include both Alexandria and Georgetown (Reps 1965 [1980]: 241). Shortly thereafter the City of Alexandria officially became part of the newly formed Capital District.

The city still maintained its identity as a bustling port community, though the political struggles of the young United States would soon take their toll. In an 1808 journal a Captain Henry Massie describes Alexandria as:

...a very handsome town, prettily situated on the banks of the Potomac, which is there one mile and a quarter wide. The commerce of the place is diffused in many parts of the globe, but more particular to the West Indies, and the northern seaport towns of America. Flour appears to be the principal article of exportation, in return they receive groceries of various kinds, such as sugar, salt, rum, brandy, etc. The streets of Alexandria intersect each other at right angles, they are well paved, of an extensive width, and kept perfectly clean...The Embargo has very much checked and restrained the enterprising commercial spirit which has prevailed here in a very high degree (Ryan 2009: 45).

Though its commercial prosperity was interrupted first by President Jefferson’s embargo of American ports in 1807 and then again by the War of 1812, the city did manage to export 209,000 barrels of flour between June 1816 and June 1817 (Peterson, 1932a: 106; Smith and Miller 1989: 51). This era also saw the expansion of a closely allied industry, industrial

bakeries. Firms such as the Jamieson Steam Bakery manufactured crackers, cookies, biscuits and other products using the flour that made its way into the city during this period (Bromberg et al. 1999: 6). Between 1780 and 1820, over 63 bakers advertised their goods and services in the local newspaper, the *Alexandria Gazette* (Bromberg et al. 1999: 6).

One of the major technological advances to come to the city during its association with the District of Columbia was the Alexandria Canal. Chartered in 1830 to connect the city's shipping facilities with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which ended in Washington, D.C. the Alexandria Canal began operation in 1843 (Peterson 1932b: 308). Although it was never financially successful, it did briefly provide a boost for the city's economy by facilitating the shipment of coal, lumber, flour and other resources from the country's interior to ports in distant locations (Hurst 1989; Peterson 1932b). Competition from the nascent railroad industry depressed the demand for canal use, however, and the loss of traffic during the Civil War also served to financially cripple the facility. The Alexandria Canal was abandoned and was being dismantled by 1888 (Peterson 1932b: 315).

During the early-to-mid nineteenth century, Alexandria also had the ignominious distinction of hosting the headquarters of one of the country's largest slave trading firms, Franklin and Armfield. Slavery had a long history in Virginia, and in this sense Alexandria was no different. In the first federal census in 1790, just under 20% of the city's total population was identified as being slave; the city counted 543 slaves among a total population of 2,748 (U.S. Census Bureau 1908). The nature of its presence in the city worsened, however, during the years leading up to the Civil War. Demand for slaves in the Deep South exceeded that in the Upper South, and firms such as Franklin and Armfield made their profits by buying slaves for relatively low prices in Virginia and Maryland, and holding them in slave pens until they could be shipped

south and sold at higher prices in New Orleans (Evans 1961). The frequency of this practice increased in Alexandria after 1850, when Congress outlawed the sale of slaves within the District of Columbia (Corrigan 2001: 6). As Alexandria had left the District four years earlier, it absorbed most of the Capitol's now banned slave traffic (Corrigan 2001: 6). Part of the Franklin and Armfield complex, central to the process of dealing of slaves to the deep south, still stands at 1315 Prince St.

Those held as slaves did represent a large percentage of the African Americans present in Alexandria prior to the Civil War, but the city was actually home to a slightly larger population of free Blacks. According to the 1860 Census, 1,415 of the city's 12,652 residents, or just over 11%, were identified as "Free Colored." The Census identified 1,380 individuals, or just under 11% of the population, as slaves (United States Department of the Interior, 1864). There were at least two free Black neighborhoods that had developed in the city by the turn of the nineteenth century, known as "The Bottoms" and "Hayti" (Cressey and Magid 1993).

While the Civil War was obviously a major event for Alexandria, it was not as destructive for the city as it was in other areas of the South. Because of the city's geographic proximity to Washington, DC, it was captured almost immediately after Virginia seceded from the Union. As such, it spent basically the entire war occupied by the Union army. The city and the surrounding area became home to Union supply depots, forts, and barracks for the duration of the war. The city's status as a major regional rail center made it particularly valuable, and the facilities of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and the Alexandria, Loudon and Hampshire Railroads were heavily used by the Union army during the war (Williams 1966: 238-244).

The city's early occupation by Union forces also made it a safe haven for slaves fleeing the South during the War. Thousands of escaped slaves, known as "contrabands," settled in Alexandria and in Washington, D.C. (Reidy 1987: 414). Those who arrived in Alexandria found a city not well equipped to handle the sudden influx of new residents. Contrabands were housed in barracks whose crowded conditions facilitated the spread of disease, which was in part responsible for the high number of deaths of the former slaves. Thousands would be buried in the city, either in smaller cemeteries, or, later in the war, in Alexandria's "Freedmen's Cemetery" (Richardson 2007).

After the Civil War, the city's industrial base limped along, but Alexandria had lost most of its competitive advantage within the region. The Canal had suffered greatly during the war and it was largely made redundant by the railroads, which increasingly served larger ports within the region, Baltimore in particular (Olson 1979). Alexandria's waterfront was no longer used to import or export exotic goods from around the world so much as to ship bulk goods, such as coal, fertilizer and lumber (Sanborn Map Company 1885). As early as the 1880s, the city was being presented as having a quaint, picturesque identity. An 1881 piece in *Scribner's Monthly* described the city as appearing as if "the place has fallen asleep and will know no awakening, but will die as it sleeps peacefully" (*Scribner's Monthly* 1881: 496).

Of course, the city did not die in its sleep, and while the late nineteenth century did not see a rebirth of the city's industrial fortunes, it did see something of an improvement. The Old Dominion Glass Company, Portner's Brewery, various flour mills, a wooden spoke factory and the coal yards, lumber yards and fertilizer storage facilities all helped to keep the local economy afloat (Miller et al. 1999; Smith and Miller 1989: 113). The city's population grew, if slowly,

throughout the late nineteenth century, gaining roughly one thousand residents between 1870 and 1900 (Smith and Miller 1989: 104).

The early years of the twentieth century saw the continued growth of the city, and the development of its waterfront to include a torpedo factory, which was built at the end of World War I. The city's relationship with Washington, D.C. became stronger in the 20th Century than it had been when the two cities shared the District of Columbia in the early 19th Century. The same ancient buildings, wharves, and streets that were cited as evidence of the city's decline in the 19th Century started to become its saving grace in the early-20th. The preservation of George Washington's home at Mount Vernon by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association in the 1850s created a much imitated model for other historic sites in the United States during the late 19th Century. The Bicentennial of George Washington's birth in 1932 provided occasion for a re-evaluation of the importance of the historic buildings within Alexandria itself. In the late 1920s and 1930s, the local American Legion Post led the restoration of Gadsby's Tavern (Hosmer 1981: 360). This was the first major effort at recognizing and protecting the historic buildings within the city limits. Spurred on by the National Park Service's creation of the George Washington Memorial Parkway in the early 1930s, the City of Alexandria created the nation's third local historic district in 1946 (Hosmer 1981: 360-362). The city's economy came to depend more heavily upon new industries, namely tourism, retail, and white collar work. As Alexandria changed, its citizens and visitors increasingly came to value the historic atmosphere that the city had acquired through its years as a colonial port town, as home to Revolutionary and Civil War heroes and villains, and as the site of the daily activities of thousands of private individuals from all stations of life. Alexandria's acknowledgement of the importance of its history became what set it apart from other cities in the region.

The Roots of Public Archaeology in Alexandria (1955-1976)

The success of Alexandria's archaeology program should be seen as the result of the hard work and commitment of many people through the years, and while each of those individuals have played a role in molding the program into what it is today, the development of Fort Ward Park in the late 1950s and early 1960s must be seen as the precedent-setting event that introduced the city's residents to the potential benefits of exploring their archaeological past in unconventional ways. Although the use of eminent domain to erase a neighborhood and create a park might not be acceptable today, the city ultimately turned the remains of a Civil War fort into a very unique public space that combines archaeology, education, recreation, and an opportunity to enjoy the natural environment in what has become a largely urbanized area. Just as the development of Fort Ward Park was led by a dedicated citizen and subsequently turned into a public park, the excavation of other archaeological sites throughout the city would be led and supported by citizen interest and frequently turned into parks or memorial spaces, would be linked by heritage trails, and would often be connected to the city's network of small thematic museums.

Fort Ward was originally created as one link of the Defenses of Washington, a series of 163 forts and batteries constructed between 1861 and 1865 that surrounded Washington, D.C., with the goal of defending the capital of the United States from Confederate attack during the Civil War (Cooling and Owen 1988: 30-38). Possibly because of its exceptionally heavy armament, Fort Ward itself was never involved in battle, and following the war it was abandoned by the Army and its timber fortifications sold at auction (Cooling and Owen 1988: 34). While the fortifications were removed, the earthworks upon which they had been built remained. The land containing the fort and its surrounding environment was first purchased and settled by

African American families shortly after the war, and became the site of a small but vibrant community.

During the mid-twentieth century, however, the Fort fell under development pressure due first to the rapid growth of Washington D.C. during World War II, and then to the suburban expansion that followed. Construction of the state's first limited access highway, the Henry Shirley Memorial Parkway, was approved by the Virginia State Highway Commission in 1942 with the expectation that the 17 miles of modern road would help to alleviate traffic congestion on US Route 1, between Washington, DC and Woodbridge, VA (Washington Post, 22 March 1942: 10; London 1949). Both Route 1 and the new highway passed through Alexandria. When completed, the Shirley Memorial Parkway brought commuter traffic within two hundred feet of the land that would become Fort Ward Park (Appler 2009).

Not surprisingly, increased development pressure in the Washington, D.C. area combined with easy highway access made Fort Ward an attractive parcel for residential development. The western portion of the future park area, including much of the Fort itself, had been purchased by land speculators in the 1930s, and by January of 1955, this land was facing the immediate prospect of development (Alexandria Archaeology 2009: 85, 87). Standing in the way of the development, however, was Mrs. Dorothy Starr.

Dorothy Starr was the former Chair of the Northern Virginia Regional Planning and Economic Development Commission, and beginning in 1953, when it first seemed that Fort Ward would go the way of a residential subdivision, she led the campaign to have the city purchase and partially reconstruct the Fort as a public park (Douglas 1964). The City of Alexandria purchased the land slated for development as the *Eagle Crest* subdivision from its developers in 1955 (City of Alexandria, Virginia, Deed Book 404:194). The city also

subsequently used its power of eminent domain to condemn the adjacent land owned by members of the African American community at the Fort (Washington Post 31 July 1962: B2).

Following the purchase of the land, the city became deeply engaged in the process of telling the story of Fort Ward's role in the Civil War. Archaeologist Edward Larrabee led the excavation and historical reconstructions undertaken at the Fort. This included: a) the reconstruction of the northwest bastion of the Fort, b) the reconstruction of an officers' hut for the site and the onsite museum modeled after period architecture, and c) the recreation of the Fort's entrance gate and replica cannons from original plans to aid in interpretation (see Figure 1) (Douglas 1964). The park opened to the public in 1964 (Douglas 1964). In the same year the United States Civil War Centennial Commission recognized Mrs. Starr for her efforts (Starr was the first woman to be so honored), and in 1971 the research library housed within the Fort Ward Museum was also named in her honor (Washington Post, 2 September 1964: A7; Washington Post, 28 October 1971: F2). To this day, Fort Ward Park remains a much valued community asset. It hosts historical events and reenactments, music performances, provides space for picnics and passive recreation, and during the summer months the park attracts between 5000 and 10,000 visitors per weekend (Guse-Noritake 2009). By using archaeology to create a community asset, Fort Ward Park set a precedent Alexandria. The idea of using archaeologically derived information to develop amenities for the community would be repeatedly used by the city in the coming years.



Figure 1: Filling Room, cannon, and reconstructed earthworks in the reconstructed Northwest Bastion at Fort Ward. The filling room would have been used to store ammunition and prepare it for use. Author Image, 2010.

In 1964, just after the opening and dedication of Fort Ward Park to the public, archaeology again became a focus of attention in the city. The federal Urban Renewal program was an exceedingly destructive force in the historic cores of America's cities (Wilson 1966). In the effort to revive their residential neighborhoods and downtowns, many local governments formed redevelopment authorities and took advantage of federal money offered for the purpose of clearing old buildings and creating new, modern housing and other facilities in their place. In this respect, Alexandria was no different. What was different, however, was that Alexandria's history had a very capable advocate in the person of John K. Pickens. Pickens had been a Council member during the period that Fort Ward was reconstructed and turned into a park, so he had had some exposure to the possible benefits to be had by bringing archaeology to the public (Pickens 1964). In a letter dated Oct. 6, 1964, between Mr. Pickens and Ivor Noel Hume,

Chief Archaeologist for Colonial Williamsburg (and one of the pioneers of historical archaeology), Mr. Pickens looked for advice for how the city might conduct some sort of salvage archaeology on a particular renewal site in the heart of what is now Old Town Alexandria, the 400 block of King St:

The 400 block of King Street is a little over 4 blocks from the Potomac River. On that block as well as on the other blocks in the urban renewal program, homes were built by the first inhabitants of Alexandria . . . In view of the fact that there will be a six month lag between the time that the land is vacant and the developer starts evacuating, it occurred to me that Alexandria should undertake, if feasible, some sort of archaeological work in these blocks – much as you have done at Williamsburg . . . If we could come up with a sound, well thought out program for excavating these areas, I feel certain the Council could go along . . . (Pickens 1964).

Noel Hume returned the correspondence, and by September 1 of 1965, C. Malcolm Watkins, of the Smithsonian, C. Mark Lawton, of the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority, Noel Hume, City Manager Albert M. Hair Jr. and other city officials had come to a tentative agreement for how to proceed (Lawton 1965). By September 22, Watkins had established that Richard Muzzrole, an archaeology technician from the Smithsonian, would “investigate such sites and areas as it meets your [Lawton’s] convenience to have him do” (Watkins 1965a). The agreement arrived upon and approved by the Mayor and other city officials held that the artifacts found at the urban renewal site would remain the property of the City of Alexandria. They would be taken to the Smithsonian by Muzzrole for analysis, processing, documentation, photography and curation, and they would be placed on indefinite loan to the Smithsonian (Watkins 1965b). The artifacts could be recalled by the City at any time, but preferably only after a “responsible historical museum” had been established in Alexandria (Watkins 1965b).



Figure 2: Richard J. Muzzrole, left, and C. Mark Lawton of the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority, right. Photo is from the Alexandria Gazette, January 28, 1966, page 8.

Newspaper accounts of the work carried out by Muzzrole in these formative years of the city's program focus heavily on the novelty of the archaeological process. In the mid-1960s, historical archaeology was still something of an unknown to most readers of the *Washington Post*, the *Evening Star* or *Alexandria Gazette*, although it had previously been used to good effect at nearby sites such as Colonial Williamsburg and Jamestown (Hosmer 1981). The writers clearly enjoy communicating the “dirt” of Muzzrole's work, namely the fact that much of his time is spent digging through abandoned privies. More than one article cites Muzzrole's experience of riding the bus back to the Smithsonian in his work clothes after a day of digging through, as one puts it, “early American excrement” (Edwards 1970; Schaden 1966).

The descriptions of how Muzzrole excavated the sites, brought the eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts back to the Smithsonian and later to an improvised lab in Alexandria

for processing and in some cases reassembly emphasize the superlative qualities of the finds. They are described variously as “a major archaeological recovery . . . an incomparable record of household objects used in the Federal period...” and as inspiring “amazement at the amount and scope of the collection” of Staffordshire-ware, and, interestingly, “a real accomplishment for urban renewal” (Alexandria Gazette, 28 January 1966: 8; Alexandria Gazette, 7 January 1971; The Journal Newspapers, 11 February 1971: 8). Several of the artifacts from Alexandria’s urban renewal sites also found their way into Ivor Noel Hume’s *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (Noel Hume 1970: 132,133; Edwards 1970).

The artifacts rescued during the period of the Smithsonian’s salvage work in Alexandria were frequently on display or in demand. In May of 1966, soon after the program had begun, many of the early artifacts found at the Gadsby Urban Renewal Project, including pieces of cow horn used for making combs, leather shoe soles, bottles from the Tavern and tableware, were put on display at the Smithsonian’s Museum of History and Technology (Hoffman 1966). In addition to Noel Hume’s frequently publicized praise of both the artifacts and of the cooperative relationship between the renewal agency, the City and the Smithsonian, members attending the Society for Historical Archaeology conference in Washington DC were treated to a tour of the excavation sites and an exhibition of artifacts (Alexandria Gazette, 7 January 1971). During that conference, Harold Skramstad of the Smithsonian brought the professional and amateur historical archaeologists to Alexandria with the hope that it could “act as the prototype for other cities which are in the process of changing their physical shape through urban renewal or the inevitable change brought by new construction” (Alexandria Gazette, 7 January 1971).

In light of these descriptions of the value of what was happening in Alexandria, it is perhaps not surprising that there was such widespread opposition to the Smithsonian’s

announcement in December of 1970 that it would end its involvement with the Alexandria digs by January 22 of the coming year (Edwards 1970; Taylor 1970). Smithsonian officials identified the reasons for ending the program as being primarily financial in nature, though they also mentioned other concerns, particularly that the digs were not resulting in new types of material, and the desire for a new, more methodical approach to their archaeology, “rather than just jumping in ahead of the bulldozers somewhere” (Edwards 1970). One article also briefly mentions the drawbacks of the Alexandria project being led by Richard Muzzrole, who, despite his experience as an archaeology technician at the Smithsonian, was not actually a trained archaeologist (Taylor 1970).

Clearly, many citizens of Alexandria had come to value having someone present at the construction sites to recover the city’s early history through archaeology. In an undated draft of a letter sent by Alexandria Mayor Charles Beatley to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, S. Dillon Ripley, Beatley responds to the December 1970 announcement by expressing his “deep concern” about the action, and asking that it be reconsidered. Beatley also declares that he feels “personally compelled to relay to you the importance to the city of Alexandria, its citizens, and its students that the vibrant, five-year-old program of discovering artifacts within Alexandria’s urban renewal area be continued” (Beatley 1970). Alexandria’s City Council passed a resolution on Jan. 12 calling on the Smithsonian to reconsider its decision (Alexandria Gazette, 15 January 1971: 4). Mr. Jean Keith, Vice President of the Alexandria Bicentennial Commission, also sent a letter to Mr. Ripley calling for continued support of the program (Alexandria Bicentennial Commission 1971). Assistant City Manager William Leidinger, recognizing the unique ability of archaeology to influence how a city is experienced, described the archaeology project as

having “added a dimension of personality to the Old and Historic District that would not have been possible without it” (Osefovich 1970).

Following this display of civic action and a run of decidedly bad press in the local papers, the Smithsonian did agree to extend the project through the end of June 1971 (Osefovich 1971). The expiration of the Smithsonian’s funding marked a prolonged period of financial insecurity for the city’s archaeology program, but it was during this period that the citizens of Alexandria were able to put archaeology in the city on a solid foundation for the future. When the Smithsonian’s funding ended in June of 1971, the City paid Muzzrole as a part-time city employee for several months to bring as many artifacts up to display condition as was possible (Washington Post, 4 July 1971: D4). Following that brief period, however, Muzzrole essentially worked without pay, or rather, lived off of his severance pay from the Smithsonian, until the spring of 1972. During this period local residents did scrape together small amounts to support him, but the community was soon to make its support for archaeology a much more organized effort (Digilio 1972).

The Alexandria of the early 1970s was a city seemingly consumed by preparations for the celebration of the nation’s 1976 bicentennial. Not surprisingly, many saw the work of Muzzrole in unearthing the city’s colonial and early federal history as essential to developing the image of Alexandria as a uniquely historic and patriotic city. When it became clear that further funding was not forthcoming from the Smithsonian, and that the city was not yet willing to commit its own resources to continuing the archaeology program, several members of the city’s Bicentennial Commission and other members of the public began to make funding the archaeology program a more personal priority. By October of 1971, the first effort to cultivate regular funding began under the direction of Claude L. Haynes, Bicentennial Commission

member (Alexandria Gazette, 6 October 1971: 1). This group had the support of numerous prominent individuals, including a past president of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the president of the Historic Alexandria Foundation, and the director of the Marine Corps Museum among others but the effort did not seem to gel (Alexandria Gazette, 6 October 1971: 1). In April, 1972 the city was unable to obtain a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities, but anyone interested in contributing money to support the excavations could send it to the assistant city manager (Digilio 1972).

In May of 1972, an organization formed that would successfully cover the expense of the continued archaeological research until November of 1973, when the city agreed to include \$15,000 in its budget for the archaeological project (Ozefovich 1974). The “Committee of One Hundred for Alexandria Archaeology” was led by Bicentennial Commission member Jean Keith (Nolan 1973). In forming this group, Alexandrians were likely inspired by another citizen-led organization, the Committee of One Hundred on the Federal City, located in Washington, D.C. The D.C. group was formed in 1923 in order to “act as a force of conscience in the evolution of the nation’s capital city” (Committee of One Hundred on the Federal City 2011). The organization had a history of rallying toward different planning and preservation causes within the District, and it benefitted from the participation of some of the city’s most influential people, including two who had been involved with the creation of the National Trust, David Finley and Ulysses S. Grant III (Doheny 2006: 311).

The Committee of 100 for Alexandria Archaeology accepted donations by members of the public for relatively small amounts, ten or twenty dollars each month, to cover the costs associated with the excavations, namely Muzzrole’s salary and supplies. In the words of one member, the Committee of One Hundred “simply was a group of local people who were willing

to fill in the monetary gap as long as necessary while they were working to convince the City government to take over this responsibility” (Mitchell 1982: 5). This modest description belies the unusual nature of the arrangement. Although it might be common today for local businesses to chip in and support a business improvement district or something similar, it is highly unusual for local citizens to voluntarily form a group in order to send money to their city manager’s office in order to support a particular employee, month after month, until the government agrees to replace their donations with a city salary.

Keith and others in the Committee of One Hundred recognized the value of the city’s archaeological program not only as a point of pride for local residents, but as a tourist draw as well. In discussing the artifacts then being uncovered and restored by Muzzrole, Keith declared that “if everything goes according to schedule, Alexandria will have an exhibit of artifacts that will attract tourists from all across the country to our bicentennial celebration” (Nolan 1973). Indeed, given the organizational support received by the city’s archaeology program during this difficult period by the members of the Bicentennial Commission, and the city’s initial reluctance to fund Muzzrole’s work, it is hard to imagine archaeology in Alexandria taking anything close to its present form had these events not occurred during the years immediately preceding the nation’s bicentennial celebration.

By the summer of 1973, the city was seriously considering funding Muzzrole’s continued excavations and reassembly of the artifacts. A memo drawn up by Keith and sent to City Manager Wayne Anderson on July 15 of that year outlined a proposed work program for Muzzrole, should the city decide to fund the position (Committee of One Hundred for Alexandria Archaeology 1973). The work program proposed first the completion of existing lab work, followed by an excavation of the Henry Piercy Pottery Site, to be followed by the

Excavation of the 400 block of King St (Committee of One Hundred for Alexandria Archaeology 1973).

The memo is helpful for many reasons, not the least of which is the insight it provides into the minds of the citizens who were guiding the formation of the city's archaeology efforts. Page 2 of the memo includes the lines "Preservation...will be done in cooperation with the contractor, concentrating on saving the 18th Century materials pertinent to the bicentennial period" (Committee of One Hundred for Alexandria Archaeology 1973). Keith also goes on to say that "the bulldozers can be allowed to scrape down to the material we are most interested in, which, of course, lies on the bottom" (Committee of One Hundred for Alexandria Archaeology 1973). This approach reflects the many realities that make operating an excavation in an urban, political, and development-oriented context wildly different than the archaeology that might be carried out in a more controlled academic environment, or even in the modern CRM approach.

To begin, the decisions of where to dig and what to dig are being made not by an archaeologist, but by the volunteer leadership of the Committee of One Hundred, in conjunction with the City Manager, and probably Muzzrole, all in response to the timetable and development site chosen by the contractor. None of these people were trained archaeologists. Muzzrole had experience as a lab technician, and had been recovering interesting artifacts from construction sites for years, but he was never formally trained in archaeological methods. The goal of seeking colonial era material for purposes such as "authentica[ing] without question the pottery being reproduced for bicentennial purposes..." strays considerably from the ideal of generating knowledge about the past. The idea of scraping off all material prior to the colonial era is also disturbing, as it eliminates the overwhelming majority of the city's archaeological record for that site in order to retrieve what "lies on the bottom." These comments do, however, also reflect the

reality of operating an archaeology program that is essentially at the mercy of the people driving the development process. Without any regulations, and without a research design steering the archaeology on site, the Committee of One Hundred, the City and Muzzrole had to basically get what they could before the developer's patience ran out.



Figure 3: Muzzrole, left, John Pickens, center (Kiernan, 1974).

In the fall of 1973, the City budgeted \$15,000 for the continuation of its archaeology program (Ozefovich, 1974). As might be expected, however, this one year allocation of resources was not sufficient to keep the supporters of archaeology in Alexandria content. John Pickens, the individual who had been one of the early proponents for creating an archaeology project in 1964, had continued to stay involved. Pickens spent much of 1974 lobbying the

Alexandria City Council to direct more funds towards the city's archaeology project (Pickens 1974a; 1974b; 1974c). During the course of the year, the scope of Pickens's requests developed from simple budget increases to proposals that laid out the framework of what would become the nation's first permanent archaeological advisory commission to serve local government. In June of 1974 Pickens successfully lobbied city officials for additional funding to support two student interns, which facilitated the excavation of the 400 Block of King St. (Pickens, 1974a). Also included in this request and not funded, were a \$6000 raise for Mr. Muzzrole, three assistants at \$10,000 each, and \$24,000 for cataloging and preparing exhibits (Pickens 1974a). In November of 1974 Pickens presented a proposal to the city council which was reduced in its cost, but which was considerably more sophisticated in what it proposed (Pickens 1974b). The November 11 letter requested that in addition to the \$15,000 that the city had budgeted in 1974, the city should set aside \$20,000 that would include \$14,800 for two full-time assistants, a \$2100 for a raise for Mr. Muzzrole, \$1,700 for classifying and cataloging artifacts for display, and \$1,400 for materials and supplies (Pickens 1974b). Along with this proposed funding was a request for the "creation of an Alexandria Archaeological Commission representing all areas of the city to assist in establishing priorities and aid in obtaining state, federal and private funds" (Pickens 1974b). The inclusion of this item set the stage for the formalization and professionalization of the city's program and for its transition away from the enthusiastic but somewhat unfocused nature that had characterized the program to this point.

November through January of the following year was the period during which the true negotiations about the future of the city's program took place. Following Pickens's proposal of November 11, City Manager Keith Mulrooney responded in a December 9 memo to city council that he generally agreed with Pickens's proposals regarding the creation of an archaeological

commission, placing the archaeology program in the capital budget at the current level of \$15,000, authorizing the display of artifacts by Alexandria businesses, and transferring a certain quantity of artifacts to a recognized laboratory for restoration and comparison with other artifacts (Mulrooney 1974). Mulrooney was less enthusiastic about the \$20,000 addition to the Archaeology budget, citing the city's budget issues and need for fiscal restraint (Mulrooney 1974).

Pickens no doubt appreciated the City Manager's support on four of the five requests, but key in the proposal was the additional \$20,000 that would create two new assistant positions to support Muzzrole. Not content to accept the proposed bare bones \$15,000 budget, Pickens began to encourage the public to speak up on behalf of archaeology in the city. On December 20 he sent a letter to the individuals who had contributed to the Committee of One Hundred a year before, and to others who had supported the program in the past, asking them to write to city council stating their support for the newly proposed funding increase and archaeology commission (Pickens 1974). The city council received letters from many of those who had supported the archaeology program throughout the previous ten years. Jean Keith sent a letter of support, as did Ethelyn Cox, the author of *Historic Alexandria: Street by Street*, and other members of the public (Keith 1974; Cox 1974; Rowntree 1974). Pickens also presented anew Ivor Noel Hume's many statements of support for the program, emphasizing the quality of the finds (Pickens 1974).

As the month progressed, Pickens's proposal became more detailed. By December 21, his description of the proposed Alexandria Archaeological Commission had been expanded to include the number of members, their method of selection and length of terms (Pickens 1974c). He described the proposed purposes of the commission as being, in essence, the following: To

devise a 10, 5 and 2 year archaeological program and plan for the city; to promote the archaeological program of the city with the local, state and federal governments, private foundations and the general public and seek support for the city's program; to establish goals and priorities with a view to preserving, restoring and displaying artifacts which contribute to the history of Alexandria, to cooperate with the Bicentennial Program; and to propose local ordinances and statutes to the manager and council to promote these goals (Pickens 1974c).

This proposal was presented to City Council on December 30, along with a detailed explanation and analysis of why the findings in Alexandria were significant, comparing the finds on King St. to the holdings of a several institutions with holdings of Colonial pottery, including the Corning Museum of Glass, Valley Forge, PA, the Mercer Museum at Doylestown, PA., and the Ephrata Cloister in Ephrata, PA (Pickens 1974c). Pickens also goes out of his way to stress the qualifications of Muzzrole, reviewing his experience as an archaeological technician dating back to the 1950s (Pickens 1974c).

By the beginning of 1975, it was clear that Pickens and his supporters had made significant headway. A January 24th memo from the Assistant City Manager for Management and Budget, James W. Randall, and signed by City Manager Keith Mulrooney supports virtually all of Pickens's requests, with the only substantive difference of opinion being over the proposed raise for Muzzrole himself (Randall 1975). The Archaeological Commission is supported by the City Manager and Assistant Manager as being an "excellent suggestion," one which would assist in establishing priorities for the archaeology program, and which would greatly facilitate the city's ability to obtain funding for the archaeological program from a variety of sources (Randall 1975). The managers do recommend broadening the base which the commission represents by

including representatives from both the Tourist Council and the Bicentennial Commission (Randall 1975).

The City of Alexandria passed Resolution 371 on February 25, 1975, thereby creating the Alexandria Archaeological Commission (AAC). The full text of the resolution is included in Appendix A. The Commission consisted of twelve members with four members being at-large, one each from the city's three planning districts, one member each from the Alexandria Association, the Historic Alexandria Foundation, and the Alexandria Historic Society, as well as two ex-officio members representing the Alexandria Tourist Council and the Alexandria Bicentennial Commission (Alexandria, VA City Council 1975). Shortly after the passage of the resolution, John Pickens was appointed to the position of Chairman, the other vacancies were filled, and the Commission began its work of promoting the interests of archaeology within the City of Alexandria (Alexandria Archaeological Commission 1975a).

The creation of the commission was significant for a number of reasons, not the least of which was that it entrenched basic support for archaeological activities within the bureaucracy of local government to a greater degree than any other city in the country. The city leaders had seen the benefits of employing a level of archaeological inquiry prior to development in a historic area, and decided that archaeology was a worthwhile city endeavor. The passage of Resolution 371 was also significant because it provided an end-point for what might be thought of as the first stage in the development of public archaeology in Alexandria, and the beginning of the second stage. Before the end of 1975, Richard Muzzrole would resign his position as City Archaeologist, citing health issues brought on by job-related stress and "petty bureaucratic confrontations" and the AAC would begin the process of searching for a replacement (Pickens 1975; Johnson 1975).

Muzzrole's tenure with both the Smithsonian and the City had been marred by personality conflicts with his co-workers and colleagues that severely complicated his work environment, but there were also fundamental changes that had taken place both within Alexandria and within archaeology in general that made his approach to the city's archaeology highly problematic (Johnson 1975). The formation of the AAC, although it was staffed by many of the same people who had fought to create a permanent city position for Muzzrole, introduced another entity that Muzzrole perceived as trying to interfere with his program. In a very real sense, that interference was one of the purposes of the commission. The AAC was created to "establish goals and priorities with a view to excavating, preserving and restoring and displaying the artifacts which contribute to the history and heritage of colonial, federal and historic Alexandria, historic Virginia and historic America" (Alexandria, VA City Council 1975). It was meant to provide some direction for a program that had, since its inception, "put out fires" caused by development in Alexandria's Old Town district. Thus, the organization whose very existence was a reflection of the perceived importance of archaeology within the city was, to Muzzrole, a threat to his continued leadership of the program.

A closely linked issue that marked the close of the first stage of Alexandria's government program was the increasingly politicized nature of the city archaeologist position. When the Smithsonian severed its ties to the Alexandria excavations, the work of the person carrying out the digs needed to change in order to match the position's changing circumstances. Rather than simply having to excavate, clean and reassemble artifacts from construction sites with the authority and the support of the Smithsonian, Muzzrole now had to justify to local government officials why his work was a good use of city funds. This was not an arena in which he was comfortable, and he largely ceded that role to individuals like Jean Keith or John Pickens, who

were typically the people interviewed and quoted in the newspapers, or who made appeals for the program at city council meetings. Muzzrole's reluctance to advocate for his own work severely handicapped his ability to steer the city's archaeology program once it came to function within the context of local government.

Another change that led to the end of the first stage of the city's program and the beginning of the second was the increasing professionalization of "rescue" archaeology in general. The Smithsonian had begun sending Muzzrole to Alexandria to recover artifacts unearthed during the urban renewal process in 1965. This was a year before the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, when historical archaeology itself was still relatively young and few legal or procedural standards existed to guide the city in undertaking what must really be understood as one of the nation's earliest sustained examples of urban salvage archaeology. When the program began, saving a few interesting pieces before they were destroyed by the bulldozers seemed to be an acceptable goal for both the Smithsonian and for the city government, and Muzzrole's training and skills were well suited to this task. As time passed, however, and as the significance of the city's archaeological resources became more evident, expectations for the city's program increased. For all of his field experience, Muzzrole was not a trained archaeologist, and his reluctance to learn new techniques and to follow best practices as they were developed prevented him from expanding the program beyond its early "salvage and display" approach. In the correspondence between Ivor Noel Hume at Colonial Williamsburg and Muzzrole, Noel Hume often gently prods Muzzrole both to keep more detailed records and to put his observations into words for publication so that the information in Muzzrole's head could be made available to the rest of the world (Noel Hume 1970; 1971). This remained a problem for Muzzrole through the end of his tenure in Alexandria. A 1975 article in the

Alexandria Gazette cites a “noted archaeologist in Virginia” as saying that “The value of the work one does in the field ultimately rests on the quality of the interpretation of it...In the case of Mr. Muzzrole, he might never publish it” (Johnson 1975).

Second Stage in the development of Alexandria’s Archaeology Program (1977-1989)

Muzzrole’s departure from Alexandria’s Archaeology program ended the period during which the public first became aware of the value of archaeology to the city’s identity. The Alexandria Archaeological Commission created a new environment for archaeology in the city, and this required that the program’s leader be someone who was both a fully trained professional archaeologist who was able to understand and communicate on equal terms with others in the field, and who welcomed the community-based orientation that the program’s political situation demanded. In 1977, the city hired Pamela Cressey to fill the City Archaeologist position and she and her colleagues soon began the process of turning Alexandria’s archaeology program into a professional and publicly-oriented endeavor. Unlike Muzzrole, Cressey was a formally trained archaeologist, with an M.A. in anthropology from the University of Iowa, which was soon followed by a Ph.D (Cressey, 2011).

When Cressey began working in Alexandria, the most immediate difference was that she conceptualized the practice of archaeology in the city not as carrying out a series of salvage projects, but as thinking about the entire city as an archaeological site, as might be the case in cities explored through classical archaeology in the Mediterranean or in Meso-America (Cressey 2010). The details of this “city-as-site” approach adopted in Alexandria were described in a 1979 paper she presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology conference in Nashville, TN. The paper, titled *The Alexandria Urban Archaeology Project: An Integrative Model for*

Systematic Study, Conservation, and Crisis, outlines the four research questions that were to be the focus of the Alexandria Urban Archaeology Project. Those questions were:

to describe the evolutionary growth of the city; to diachronically delineate spatial distributions of land use, ethnic groups (White Anglo-Saxon, Black and Jewish) and socio-economic status; to determine whether historic neighborhoods can be located ethnohistorically and archaeologically and; to test the degree to which historic urban processes are operative in creating contemporary changes in socio-economic and ethnic distributions (Cressey 1979: 10).

Adopting this research agenda radically altered both the type of information that would be seen as relevant in Alexandria's future archaeological excavations, and the methodology that would be used to obtain that information. Rather than simply putting out fires and finding the most appealing artifacts for display, there would now be a series of questions guiding the development of a knowledge base to which each dig could contribute in many different ways. Focusing on the city's growth through time and on the experiences of a variety of ethnic groups introduced a level of complexity that had never previously been part of the program.

Working with archaeologists and historians funded by grants from Virginia's state archaeology office (then known as the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, headed by William Kelso), the City of Alexandria was able to carry out a series of prehistoric and historic archaeological surveys for the entire city (Alexandria Archaeological Research Center 1980; Cressey 2010b; Klein 1979). This new research generated information about groups that had not previously received a great deal of attention within the city, most notably Native Americans and African Americans. While the program still operated within the realm of salvage, the information gained as a result of those emergency excavations could increasingly be situated within the archaeological record of the city as a whole. This helped to paint a more complete picture of the lives led by earlier generations of Alexandrians, and also helped to dispel any

notion that residents might have had about the history of one group being more significant than that of another.

One example of the relationship between the salvage excavations and the program's newly expanded research agenda comes from a site described in the Alexandria Archaeological Research Center *Newsletter* from June, 1980. The "Coleman Site" was chosen for summer field schools developed in cooperation with George Mason University, George Washington University, and for local volunteers because it was:

located from the City Survey conducted by John Stephens as the earliest black residential area in the newly forming 19th century black neighborhood; thus work would have some relationship to the DIP information from 1979. A further advantage...is that one half was occupied by an elite, white family during the late 18th and 19th century. So information recovered from the two halves should be able to be compared to one another. The second reason that the site was chosen relates to modern development. The site is going to be developed for townhouses and condominiums (Alexandria Archaeological Research Center 1980:1).

"The Dip" or "The Bottoms" was the name of a historically African American neighborhood in a different area of town. John Stephens was a historian working in the city using funds from the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology. This short notice about the Coleman site provides a window into how the archaeology being done in Alexandria had changed. Not only was the archaeology recognizing the importance of multiple eras and multiple groups, but the method of sampling has changed as well. By this point, Cressey and her colleagues had established the precedent of cooperating with private developers in order to carry out archaeology in different parts of the city. Archaeology was no longer limited to the urban renewal sites, as was the case in Muzzrole's era. This increased access to new sites should be recognized both as a reflection of Cressey's interest in drawing attention to new aspects of the city's history, and also as being

possible because of the greatly expanded role of public participation in the city's archaeology projects.

The second period in the program's history engaged the public in producing archaeological and historical knowledge in a way that was unprecedented for any American city at that time. By the end of this period, the city's archaeology supporters could directly advise city council on issues related to archaeology and develop plans for protecting and promoting archaeology within the city through the Alexandria Archaeological Commission. They could receive training to volunteer on digs, or carry out lab work in the city's archaeology museum through involvement with the non-profit group Friends of Alexandria Archaeology. They could participate in the production of archaeologically-relevant knowledge through original historical research or they could obtain other information about life in the relatively recent past by carrying out oral histories. This second period also saw the Archaeological Commission and the city archaeologists develop and hone their approach of interpreting archaeological sites by acquisition, excavation and interpretation through the creation of recreational amenities whose place-based historical context made them unique to the city.

It was clear that from the very beginning, Cressey and the Archaeological Commission had planned to make public outreach a key component of the program. In an April 1977 letter from Cressey to the Archaeological Commission, she invites the Commission members to stop by the archaeology lab and become familiar with the procedures being used to process artifacts and to learn more about the plans for excavating the 500 block of King St. (Cressey 1977). Perhaps most significantly, the letter mentions the need to create a 16 mm film of the King St. excavation for distribution and circulation among schools and community groups, in addition to publishing a pamphlet at the end of the project that would explain what had been discovered

(Cressey 1977). Cressey also mentions the need to publicize the excavation through newspapers and local television stations in order to drum up interest among volunteers who could help with different aspects of the dig (Cressey 1977).

That the program was in need of volunteer labor to further its research and salvage goals was evident to Cressey from the beginning, but she was surprised by the public's high level of interest. The task given to Cressey, and her colleagues upon her arrival in Alexandria was to excavate an entire city block (the 500 block of King St.) in three months before construction began for a new Urban Renewal project. Not knowing what kind of response they would receive from the public, they placed a notice in the local newspaper asking for volunteers to help with the project. To put it mildly, the results far exceeded expectations. In a 2010 interview, Cressey recalled that after the newspaper ad:

One hundred and fifty people called the first week. We couldn't dig because we were so busy getting phone calls. And I couldn't believe that people were willing to do anything... jump into privies... And of course with archaeology it is so collegial... We were doing water screening... and we even had to Clorox the sidewalks because people thought their dogs were getting fecal material between their toes... (Cressey 2010).

Cressey also recalled a team of women carrying out historical research, others coming in who just wanted to work on glass, and still others who boiled down roadkill to make their own type collection for faunal analysis (Cressey 2010). Clearly this was a community in which those with an interest were given the opportunity to help in whatever manner they were most interested. Local residents were invited to dig in the muck with the archaeologists and participate first hand in developing their local history.

The changes in personnel and in the character of the city's program did not go unrecognized. In a 1978 memo from C. Malcolm Watkins to Peter C. Marzio, Chairman of the Department of Cultural History at the Smithsonian, Watkins describes the atmosphere he

encountered during a May visit to the in the archaeology laboratory in Alexandria in the following terms:

Mrs. Cressey is a bright, proficient young archaeologist, with modern ideas and managerial competence . . . Her assistants have all had training in archaeology. Together they comprise an enthusiastic, purposeful team, conducting a volunteers program, good public relations, and fund raising, all in support of the central activity . . . (Watkins 1978).

The letter also goes on to praise the organizational and security improvements made to the Torpedo Factory facility where the archaeology lab was located.

This praise from Watkins was more than simply a string of positive observations by one colleague to another. It was part of a “clearing of the deck” being carried out by the City and the Smithsonian, tying up the loose ends that remained from the earlier salvage archaeology program. As part of the 1965 agreement between the Smithsonian and the City of Alexandria brokered by John Pickens, C. Malcolm Watkins et al., the city had retained ownership of the material salvaged during the Urban Renewal projects by Muzzrole, although the Smithsonian had agreed to process and curate the artifacts until “a responsible historical museum has been established in Alexandria” (Watkins 1965a). The Archaeological Commission had been making overtures, since at least as early as February 4, 1976, to have the artifacts returned to Alexandria (Pickens 1976). Those efforts stalled briefly following John Pickens’s death, but by 1978, it was clear to everyone involved that the conditions had been met, and that the City of Alexandria had devoted sufficient energy and resources to its archaeology program to warrant the return of the artifacts (Watkins 1978).

With the legacy of the Smithsonian era firmly behind it, the AAC and city’s archaeologists began to pursue the types of projects that reflected their own approach to archaeology in the city. The Alexandria Canal was one the first major projects undertaken as a

result of an expressed interest on the part of the Archaeological Commission that was not immediately tied to a salvage project and did not necessarily fit neatly into the research design being applied to the city as a whole. Instead, the process of researching the historical significance of the site, and of determining the appropriateness of the site's excavation and interpretation was undertaken almost purely as a result of the interest of the archaeologically minded individuals who now sat on the city's archaeological commission. In no other community in the United States was this same process taking place.

As early as May of 1977, members of the AAC were already making efforts to draw the public's attention to the existence of the Alexandria Canal Tide Lock (Mitchell 1990). The remains of the lock were completely underground and were invisible to the general public, but the AAC held a reception on what was believed to be the site of the old canal lock to raise the public profile of the project (Mitchell 1990). By September of that year, Commission members Diane McConnell, Fred Tilp and Col. Ben Brenman were working on developing a Canal Locks Park Plan, while other commission members were developing historical documentation of the Canal, and the lock site in particular, to facilitate the nomination of the property to the National Register of Historic Places (Alexandria Archaeological Commission 1977). Initially, Cressey, as someone whose primary interests revolved around the human experience, was not as interested in this project. She favored sites that featured people, rather than technology, as the centerpiece (Cressey 2010). Given the enthusiasm of the Commission, however, Cressey opted to cooperate with and support her new colleagues in their efforts. In 1979 the Canal site was tested to identify the exact location and condition of the Lock's walls, and by 1980 it was listed on the National Register (Hahn 1992: 41; National Register of Historic Places 1980). In 1982, working with industrial archaeologist Thomas Swiftwater Hahn, Alexandria's archaeologists and the AAC

began the process of excavating the lock and determining its suitability for restoration (Hahn 1992). In his 1992 publication, Hahn describes the excavation process at the site, the details of the condition of the canal lock and lock gates (Hahn 1992). Included are several photos of AAC members and city employees involved with various stages of the excavation (Hahn 1992). Hahn also describes the process of rehabilitating the tide lock for its new interpretive function as part of the development of the TransPotomac Canal Center, owned by Savage/Fogarty Companies Inc. (Hahn 1992). Rather than destroying the buried remains of the city's industrial past, Savage Fogarty financed the excavation, and the creation of an interpretive reconstruction on the site of the original lock (Mitchell 1990; Hahn 1992). When completed in 1987, the project's new design won widespread attention for the designers, M. Paul Friedberg & Partners, garnering a Merit Award from the American Society of Landscape Architects in the process (see Figures 4 and 5) (American Society of Landscape Architects 2011). The canal lock reconstruction is now the centerpiece of the 4.7 acre Tide Lock Park, is a key feature in the City's Waterfront Walk, and is connected to the region's larger Mount Vernon Trail (City of Alexandria 2010).

Aside from the park's value as an archaeological site, Cressey has also identified the process of working with the Archaeological Commission and other members of the public to research the history of the Lock, get it nominated to the National Register, and using it as the center of a community amenity building effort as a transformative event in defining the "personality" of the city's archaeology program:

That's when I started getting that a resource, and place, was really powerful... more powerful than just research questions alone, more powerful than individual artifacts... when you put it all together...actively asking questions about the past that people don't know about, sharing the information, including the community in actually doing the work, listening to what they think is important, and then focusing on places and how to turn those into useful amenities, you are building partnerships and you are actually part of the continual...building of community identity... (Cressey 2010).

This process of building community identity through public involvement in archaeology would become a hallmark of the program's activities in the coming years.



Figure 4: Alexandria Canal Tide Lock immediately after excavation. The lock is being filled with dirt and reburied. Image from a Powerpoint presentation by Pam Cressey titled *Manchester Presentation*.



Figure 5: Alexandria Canal Tide Lock Park and TransPotomac Canal Center as built. The interpretive reconstruction is directly above the actual canal lock, which remains buried. Image from a Powerpoint presentation by Pam Cressey titled *Manchester Presentation*.

Perhaps unknowingly, the work carried out by Cressey, Alexandria Archaeology and the AAC during the late 1970s and 1980s embraced many of the same grassroots-based principles that characterized the work of progressive urban planners of the period. For planners, this movement involved a devolution of authority, and rejecting the centralized, top-down approach to planning that had driven projects during the Urban Renewal era (Arnstein 1969). Instead, progressive planners sought to create opportunities for public involvement in the planning process, and for making a conscious effort to draw attention to the needs of groups who had been most severely marginalized by the planning processes of the mid-20th Century (Davidoff 1965; Forester 1994; Krumholz 1982).

Advocacy planners such as Davidoff and Krumholz worked to politicize the planning process, seeking to introduce disempowered voices and to decentralize the government's decision making process (Davidoff 1965; Krumholz 1982). Cressey, Alexandria Archaeology and the AAC engaged in work that had a similar effect, in that their work helped to demonstrate the historical presence of multiple groups within the community, and it drew attention to the need for interpreting that history along with the city's better known historical themes. The activities of the AAC also created opportunities for local community members to speak out about sites that they felt were important.

And while the Canal project may not be the best example of "advocacy," given that it presented the city's industrial history rather than that of its marginalized social classes or ethnic groups, a great deal of Alexandria Archaeology's work would fit that description perfectly. Research into the Free African-American neighborhoods of the Bottoms and Hayti, or the labor histories of African Americans at the Alfred St. Sugar House, the Wilkes St. Pottery and the Old Dominion Glass Company allowed the city to present a more complete vision of its history

(Cressey and Magid 1993). In some places, such as the African American Heritage Park, this history became the centerpiece of public spaces created specifically to interpret the city's African American past for its current residents.

The early 1980s should be seen as a period in which the relationship between the city's archaeologists and the public grew in a number of important ways. The involvement of volunteers in the day-to-day work of the city's archaeology efforts continued to define the city's program, with trained volunteers working both in the field and in the archaeology lab processing artifacts. The Alexandria Archaeology Museum opened to the public in 1984, giving the archaeology program a more visible face and providing a new way for the public to learn about the city's history and the process of archaeology (see Figure 6) (Beyers 1984). The program began its *Alexandria Legacies* oral history project in the early 1980s as part of the process of discovering the city's African American history (Office of Historic Alexandria 2010). In 1986, the non-profit organization Friends of Alexandria Archaeology (FOAA) was formed to provide financial and community support for Alexandria Archaeology (Nugent 2010; Friends of Alexandria Archaeology 2009: 1). On both city-owned sites and on private land in the process of being developed, the city's archaeologists excavated or oversaw the excavation of dozens of sites throughout the city, all of which helped to make it possible to tell the story of the city's history.

It is impossible to understand the character of Alexandria Archaeology in this, and subsequent, eras without understanding the degree to which it depends on its relationship with the public. In the ten years between 1979 and 1988, Alexandria Archaeology averaged approximately 7885 hours of volunteer labor per year (Alexandria Archaeology, 2010). Assuming a 40 hr. work week and two weeks of vacation time per year, this means that the city

received the equivalent of 3.9 full time equivalent employees from volunteer labor every year. It is hard to imagine many other city departments or programs, with the possible exception of parents coaching their children's recreational sports teams, achieving the same level of volunteerism.



Figure 6: Cressey and Alexandria Mayor Charles E. Beatley, Jr. in 1984, at the opening of the Alexandria Archaeology Museum in the city's Torpedo Factory Art Center (Beyers, 1984).

By 1984, it was clear to those in the archaeology world, and increasingly to those outside of it as well, that the city of Alexandria had developed a unique program and that that program had become a major community asset. When the *Washington Post* compared the city's archaeology program to those in the much larger cities of Baltimore, Boston and New York, the scope and scale of the Alexandria program was far greater than those found in the other cities (Jordan 1984). The program's strong community support, its significant funding levels, and the program's relationship with its volunteers all merited mention. By the city's estimate,

Alexandria Archaeology would generate over \$60,000 worth of volunteer labor in 1984 alone (Jordan 1984). The article also drew attention to the role of Alexandria Archaeology in creating an image of the city for tourists and prospective residents distinct from that of Washington, D.C. The director of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts described Alexandria as determined to prove that “Small-scale monuments are just as important for one’s sense of identity and continuity as the grand” (Jordan 1984).

The city’s archaeology program was so successful that while archaeology was not a mandatory requirement for developers working on private property, many voluntarily allowed the city’s archaeologists to excavate the site, provided that the excavation was not too burdensome for those with a financial stake in the project. Cressey was quoted in a 1987 article as saying that she had never had a homeowner or developer refuse to allow an inspection of a building site (Mansfield 1987).

The excavations carried out during this period took place in some of the most historically significant areas of the city. The site of what had been the Franklin and Armfield headquarters building at 1315 and 1317 Duke St. was excavated before new construction was slated to occur on the 1317 lot (the office at 1315 Duke St. is still standing) (Artemel et al. 1987). The abovementioned Coleman site, in what was once the free African American neighborhood of Hayti, is another example. Circumstances in the housing market and the agreeable disposition of the property owner allowed city archaeologists three years to excavate the site, providing time to discover a tremendous amount of information about the city’s early nineteenth century free Black population (Cressey and Magid 1993: 8,9; Bovey 1983). Also included in this era of Alexandria Archaeology’s work was the excavation undertaken at the historic Christ Church cemetery, in which the city’s archaeologists worked to make sure that any human remains lying

within the area to be used for the expansion of the church's parish house were located and recovered for reburial in a safe location prior to construction (Alexandria Archaeology 2010).

Although these were major excavations and they were very significant in what they contributed to understanding the city's past, the 1980s were a period of explosive growth in the Metropolitan D.C. area as a whole, and Alexandria in particular. The rate at which the city was growing, and at which new development was disturbing soil that had been unturned for centuries, meant that archaeological sites were being destroyed without being excavated. In 1988, Cressey said that "Sometimes we just can't keep up. When I first came here, there were so many new construction sites going on that I got sick every morning on my way to work thinking about all the finds that were being destroyed" (Vial 1988).

The Alexandria Archaeological Commission and the archaeologists employed by the City deserve a great deal of credit for recognizing that the same process that usually destroyed archaeological information could also be used to recover archaeological data. This principle had been used for federal projects in one form or another going back to the early days of the Tennessee Valley Authority projects, and had become much more formalized with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 with its now famous Section 106, and the Moss-Bennett Act in 1974. But within the local government context, only St. Augustine, FL had even begun to think along the lines of using the development process to protect archaeological information, and its first ordinance was only just passed at the end of 1986.

By September of that same year, the Archaeological Commission realized that the city would benefit from a more structured relationship between private developers and those seeking to protect archaeological resources (Wassell 1986). Ben Brenman, then chairman of the AAC, explained the motivation for studying the idea of an archaeology ordinance as being "to

formalize what is already being done on an informal basis . . . We've never had a developer turn us down yet, and we've never . . . held one down or slowed one up" (Wassell 1986).

The beginning of the push for an archaeology ordinance in Alexandria that was tied to the development process is significant for many reasons, not the least of which is that it called attention to the fact that the local development review process was (and still is) the legal mechanism that offers the most effective protection for archaeological resources on privately owned land. Private development on private property is largely unaffected by the federal regulations that offer protection (or lead to mitigation) for archaeological resources on federal land or in projects using federal funds. If Alexandria was to protect its archaeological resources with anything other than the goodwill of the people who developed in the city, it was going to have to rely on the same set of legal principles that gave local governments the authority to develop zoning ordinances and subdivision regulations.

Cressey cites the process by which the AAC, working with the City, developed the Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code as another example of how coupling the enthusiasm and interests of the volunteer members of the AAC with the technical skills of professional archaeologists took the city's archaeology program in a different, better, direction than it could have taken had each group been working without the other. She also credits the AAC with recognizing the need for what would ultimately become the city's best tool for protecting archaeological data from the development boom that occurred throughout Northern Virginia in the 1980s and early 1990s:

They [the AAC] said we needed a code. We [the professional archaeologists] could not conceptualize that. We said that's impossible. Nobody's going to make a code, like a [NHPA Section] 106 for Alexandria . . . And they worked on it, doing this research, for . . . three years . . . and they really said 'we've got to have this because there's so much development and you can't do it all' and that was really true. We did miss stuff . . . in the mid-80s, that was important. And so I

started interviewing . . . city attorneys . . . development attorneys, and finally between what the commission had put together, and a new city attorney coming in and talking to development attorneys, there was a structure for the code created. They [the AAC] were very very strong on that, and got it passed (Cressey, 2010).

The Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code (AAPC), as it was ultimately called, was passed by Alexandria's City Council on September 16, 1989 by a unanimous vote (Lait, 1989). There were four steps in the AAPC (Alexandria Archaeology, 1990). The Code required developers to receive a preliminary assessment for their project from the city's archaeology staff. During the preliminary assessment, the potential archaeological significance of the project area was determined using in-house historical records, previous archaeological work, and the level of the project's impact on the potential resources (Alexandria Archaeology 1990). If it was determined that a project was in an area that could have potential archaeological significance, an archaeological consultant would be called in by the developer to carry out a more detailed Archaeological Evaluation for the site (Alexandria Archaeology 1990). This evaluation would include two parts: the background study and the results of preliminary field work. The background study developed the site's history and historical context in greater detail, while the preliminary field work section required a report providing the results of survey and field testing (Alexandria Archaeology 1990). The third step in the procedure was the development of a management plan for the site, which details the preservation strategy to be used for the archaeological information (Alexandria Archaeology 1990). The full archaeological evaluation and management plans were to be presented to the Alexandria Archaeological Commission. Following the approval of the Archaeological Commission, the developer's archaeological consultant could begin the excavation of the site, prepare the archaeological report, present the

report to the Commission, and, if desired, interpret the site for the public (Alexandria Archaeology 1990).

Newspaper articles from the period show remarkably little opposition to the passage of the ordinance (Gomlak 1989a; 1989b; Lait 1989). No developer spoke against the ordinance when it was considered at the Alexandria Planning Commission meeting on September 5 (Gomlak 1989b). There may have been several reasons for this. One may be that as Cressey and Brenman said, this was merely a codification of practices that had been going on for some time. By 1989, the City of Alexandria's archaeology staff had been requesting this type of favor of developers for almost twenty five years. Cressey, Steve Shephard and Barbara Magid (see Figure 7) had been working with developers and the public as a team for nearly a decade of that time. Ben Brenman had been a member of the Archaeological Commission since its formation in 1975, subsequently becoming its chair (Alexandria Archaeological Commission 1975b; Cressey 2010). The archaeologists and their likely requests were not unknown quantities among the developers working in Alexandria, and Alexandria Archaeology's work on city sites, and with private developers, had drawn a significant amount of publicity and positive attention for a city whose economic and cultural identity increasingly depended on its history.

Another possible reason for the lack of significant opposition may have been that having the archaeologists review a site plan before the commencement of ground breaking activities minimized uncertainties for developers. Knowing what they were likely to encounter under the surface of their building site, and having an approved plan in place to handle those resources when they were encountered, eliminated a variable that could conceivably hold up a project or damage a developer's reputation in the community.



Figure 7: Alexandria Archaeology staff and several volunteers in 1989. Steve Shephard, Pam Cressey and Barbara Magid are in the back row, left to right. Image from the Spring 2009 Friends of Alexandria Archaeology Newsletter, page 4.

There are at least two reasons why the passage of the Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code marks another turning point in the development of the city's archaeology program. In the most obvious sense, the code cemented the relationship between archaeology and the development process. It recognized that by virtue of their both requiring the use of the same piece of land, and because there were significant public benefits to be gained from both activities, both should be allowed to take place in the way that maximized public utility – carrying out the archaeology first and then allowing development to take place. While this may seem logical and straightforward, few locations have created such an ordered system. In this sense the passage of the code can be seen as a statement of principles by city leaders about the value they put on the city's past, and on new development.

The code also marks a turning point because it dramatically altered the nature of the day-to-day work of the city's archaeologists. Steve Shephard, who began working as an archaeologist on the city payroll in 1980, recalled conversations with Cressey and Ben Brenman about how the Code would alter the activities of Alexandria Archaeology:

We talked a lot about it and what it would mean. Obviously it's a good thing to have the ordinance to protect the cultural resources, but all of us realized, and especially Ben, said that . . . 'this is going to change the ability of the staff, of what you can do, because you are going to then be roped into having to complete the requirements of the code, with the review and the administration, management and all of that stuff, and it would mean that you would have less ability to do work yourself . . . ' It was a personal tradeoff, because personally . . . I don't like bureaucracy better than doing actual archaeology, but on the other hand, for the cultural resources of the city, it was definitely a really important move (Shephard 2010).

These predictions about the effects of the ordinance on the work carried out by Alexandria Archaeology proved to be very accurate. At different points in the coming years, the administration of the ordinance would become the major task carried out by Alexandria Archaeology (Cressey 2010).

Third Stage in the Development of Alexandria Archaeology (1990 – Present)

Since the passage of the Code in 1989, the work of Alexandria Archaeology has continued to focus on developing as complete an understanding of the archaeological record as possible, while cultivating the ability of the public to benefit from and use that information for modern purposes. The Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code gave the city the authority to require a more thorough excavation of sites than had previously been the case, and those excavations continued to shed new light on different aspects of the city's past, including its Native, African and European-American histories as well as its industrial and commercial history. Developers quickly learned how the ordinance worked and where it fit in the planning process, and in so doing, they became the primary financiers for some of the city's most important archaeological excavations. The Code also brought the archaeologists closer into the

planning sphere, making it easier for some to see connections between two fields that had traditionally been (and in most places remain) antagonistic towards one another.

One measure of the success of the program in the 1990s and 2000s is the degree to which the public began to claim this often newly discovered history as its own, and use the interpretation of archaeological information as an opportunity to create meaningful public spaces, such as the African American Heritage Park, Freedmen's Cemetery (still in the process of construction), and others. Public involvement with the city's archaeology remained a hallmark of the program, although the increased use of cultural resource management firms for the Code-related work did shift the workload somewhat for volunteers. Rather than excavating a private site under the shadows of a bulldozer, as might have been the case before the ordinance was passed, today's volunteers are more likely to contribute to the city's archaeology efforts by taking on a greater role in historical research and outreach efforts than in the actual excavation of sites.

There is, however, still a need for volunteers with archaeological training. The growth of programs such as archaeology summer camps, field schools, and family dig days maintain the need for skilled volunteer archaeologists who can both assist with the excavation and with the educational and requirements of novice participants. The spring 2008 Friends of Alexandria Archaeology Newsletter identifies how volunteers spent their time with Alexandria Archaeology. Of the 5833 volunteer hours logged, the labor was divided as follows: Archival Work, 1,404.5 hours; Laboratory Work, 1197 hours; Fieldwork, 918.25 hours; Museum Work, 893 hours; Education, 586.75 hours; Oral History, 312 hours (Friends of Alexandria Archaeology 2008: 2,5). Smaller amounts were devoted to computer work, illustrations, and newsletter management (Friends of Alexandria Archaeology 2008: 2).

When the AAPC went into effect, it did not take long before it began to yield results in the form of both information about the city's past, and in the form of new opportunities for integrating the city's past with the present. Among the early examples of the former was the information gained as a result of construction work carried out on the site of the historic Alfred St. Baptist Church (Walker et al. 1992). The church was constructing an addition, and because it was in an archaeologically significant area, it triggered the archaeological evaluation required by the Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code (Cressey and Magid 1993: 7; Walker et al. 1992). The Alfred Street Baptist Church is itself a historic structure, but the congregation of the church has been meeting on the current site since as early as 1818, forming the nucleus of the free black neighborhood of "The Bottoms" (Walker et al. 1992: i). The Bottoms is one of the city's most historic areas, and the fact that the church is still active connects the historical occupants of the site (determined through archaeological and historical research to be the Beckley family), with those who are members of the congregation today (Walker et al. 1992: 17-23). The archaeology of this site was the archaeology of their congregation. While it is possible that an organization with such strong Alexandria roots as this church might have carried out archaeology through an informal agreement with the city archaeologists had the ordinance not been in place, the ordinance made sure that this congregation's history was not lost as it sought to expand. It is also worth mentioning that had the city not had an archaeologist in the first place, it is unlikely that anyone would have even thought to excavate before digging.

Another example of how the city's archaeology program has created opportunities for archaeology to be thoughtfully, meaningfully, and profitably executed in the sphere of land development and planning can be found in the story leading up to the creation of the African American Heritage Park, near the intersection of Alexandria's Duke St. and Holland Lane. In

August of 1988, the then ninety-nine year old statue of a Confederate soldier located near the intersection of South Washington and Prince Streets was struck by a car and knocked off of its pedestal (Jordan 1988). The debate over whether to restore the statue and return it to its former position of honor was intense, but ultimately the statue was restored (Murphy 1988). The city had established a task force to help it decide the matter, and Ben Brenman, the chairman of the Alexandria Archaeological Commission, was on that task force (Cressey 2011).

Around this same time, the city's archaeologists had found a headstone on an abandoned piece of land, land on which no one was paying taxes, and identified it as the site of an African American cemetery established in the 19th Century (Cressey 2011). This site was adjacent to 80 acres of land that developer Oliver Carr was preparing as the high density, mixed-use Carlyle development (Foote 1988). Brenman was aware of this cemetery discovery and as a result of his sharing this information with the Confederate Soldier task force, the decision came about to use the cemetery to erect a corresponding monument to the city's African American past (Cressey 2011). Because the cemetery site had been abandoned, the city was easily able to claim ownership (Cressey 2011). Carr needed a special use permit in order to develop the project as he wanted. As a condition for approval of the special use permit, the city required Carr to contribute to the city a small amount of land that abutted the abandoned property, pay for archaeology in the abandoned land, and pay to develop the site as a public park (Cressey 2011).

The plan that was developed in response to the abandoned parcel's African American past, discovered through archaeology, ultimately became one of the development's major assets. Rather than moving the remains to another location and developing the parcel, or fencing off the parcel and building up to its borders, the developers, the City Planning department, Alexandria Archaeology, the Alexandria Black History Resource Center, the AAC, and members of the

city's African American community were able to take the opportunity to build something that could serve the city on many levels (Kaplow 1991; Rowland 1991).

At the beginning of the park's development, the director of the Alexandria Black History Resource Center described it as "...fill[ing] a void of not knowing for so long about black history in Alexandria. We have a very proud history that has to be told and the City is telling it" (Rowland 1991). The site's history as an African American cemetery allowed it to become the focal point around which members of the city's modern African American community could rally. The development of the nine acre park became an opportunity to create a permanent physical landscape feature that recognized the contributions of African Americans to the city. The names of historic black neighborhoods, churches, schools, civic associations, businesses and of many individuals associated with those organizations were identified and written into the brass sculptures featured in the park. The most prominent grouping of sculptures was named *Truths that Rise from Roots Remembered* by their sculptor, Howard University professor Jerome Meadows (see Figure 8). The park, the cemetery, the sculptures, walking trails and open spaces became a model example of how local history could be combined with the development process to create a space that is infinitely more meaningful, and more enjoyable, than the typical newly-built alternatives.

The combination of Alexandria Archaeology, the Archaeological Commission, the Ordinance and the Carlyle development led to other discoveries and preservation efforts as well. The cellar of the oldest lager brewery in Virginia (the Shuter's Hill Brewery) was discovered during the project's archaeological investigation (Scalley N.D.). In order to meet the needs of both archaeologists and the developers, the cellar was subsequently documented and excavated, then backfilled, paved over and preserved underground (Scalley N.D.). The cellar lies

underneath the corner of Duke and Delaney streets near the King St. Metro station. The development also led to the preservation and eventual listing on the National Register of the Hoof's Run Bridge, which was completed in 1850 to serve the Orange and Alexandria Railroad (Cressey 1990; National Register of Historic Places 2003). The Alexandria Archaeological Commission and the city's archaeology staff played a crucial role in providing the relevant historical information and lobbying the appropriate people to keep the bridge from being destroyed in the development (Cressey 1990).



Figure 8: *Truths that Rise from Roots Remembered*, by Jerome Meadows. Author photo, 2010

The ordinance has been responsible for re-introducing much older sites to the modern context as well. In 1995, during the planning of what would become the Stonegate development, the developers were required to carry out an archaeological evaluation of the 22 acre site located near the intersection of Braddock Rd. and Interstate 395 in Alexandria (Bates 1993). In so doing, the archaeologists discovered an undisturbed prehistoric toolmaking site, which was dated to between 3000-1200 B.C. (Scalley 1993: 1).

As in many other situations where new development and archaeology intersected in Alexandria, the development wound up with a distinguishing amenity that it would otherwise never have had. In this case, the developers opted to create an “archaeological preserve” in a sensitive portion of the site, and in addition to protecting any undiscovered archaeological features, the preserve doubles as a natural area for the community’s residents to enjoy (Siegal 2007). A 2007 article in the Real Estate section of the *Washington Post* features the Stonegate community’s archaeological preserve as the centerpiece of the story describing the quality of life enjoyed by the residents occupying the development (Siegal 2007). Had the city not been prepared with an archaeology ordinance, this site would have been lost, and the developers would have had no reason to create the amenity that continues to distinguish their homes in an extremely competitive real estate market, nearly twenty years after the development first broke ground.

In many cases, the final, tangible product of the archaeology ordinance is not a preserved park or a memorial structure, it is simply the production of knowledge for the archaeological record and the experience the community has of excavating the site. The development project often requires the complete destruction of the archaeological resource, and in those cases, the documentation of the site by archaeologists is the only record that remains of what once existed on the site. The Lee Street site provides one example of this type of excavation.

Built as a joint project between the City of Alexandria and developer Lawrence Brandt, the project that necessitated the excavation of the Lee Street Site created both a city-owned underground parking garage within the historic Old Town waterfront area and a development of private townhouses (Bromberg et al. 1999: 3). Because of the site’s location on made land in what was once the commercial and industrial heart of the city, the Lee Street site had the

potential to be exceptionally helpful in learning about the city's past, and when excavated, the site did not disappoint.

The archaeological consultants, city archaeologists and volunteers excavated through the 1960s era parking lot and encountered the foundations of the late 19th Century grocery warehouses constructed by Charles King & Son (Bromberg et al. 1999). The site also contained the remains of a long, partitioned wooden shed, used for the storage of coal by the J.R. Zimmerman Coal Yard in the 1880s (Bromberg et al. 1999).

Continuing chronologically, the site yielded a Civil-War era privy containing the remains of shoes, buckles, bullets, a canteen, and other artifacts (Bromberg et al. 1999). Evidence of earlier site use existed in the form of the foundations and some of the mechanical works of the Jamieson Steam Bakery. The remains of this industrial bakery included a massive cistern, iron steam pipes, foundation walls and other features. The bakery had occupied the site in one form or another since 1832 (Bromberg et al. 1999). Prior to Jamieson's bakery, the site had been home to several shops, taverns, and other structures that would have served the waterfront economy. The excavations continued past this era and continued down to the docks and wharves themselves. The archaeologists and volunteers encountered the large, flat stones that had once formed the surface of a wharf (Bromberg et al. 1999). They also found the wooden timbers that held the fill used to create the wharf – this was the process that had been used to create the land where the city's new parking garage and Lawrence Brandt's new townhouses would be built.

Aside from the information gathered from the site, the dig was unusual in that it was such a cooperative effort. The city's archaeologists worked with the private CRM firm Dames & Moore to recover information from the site, while Alexandria Archaeology volunteers contributed both to the actual excavation process, and hundreds of ordinary citizens participated

by screening the dirt that was being excavated by those with more training (Bromberg et al. 1999). Volunteers also played a major role in the post-excavation process, helping to catalog, clean, and conserve the artifacts as they came in from the field (Bromberg et al. 1999). While the physical remains of the warehouses, the coal yard, the Civil-War privy, the steam bakery and the wharves were destroyed for the project, because the city had an archaeology staff, an archaeology ordinance, and trained volunteers, this information was not lost. This development also shows that even in projects as complicated as a public-private partnership involving multiple owners and multiple uses, archaeology need not be seen as a major barrier to development.

In discussing the recent history of the city's archaeology program, and its relationship with the public and with the development process, it would be a mistake to ignore the incredible effort that has gone into one project in particular. Freedmen's Cemetery probably offers the best opportunity to understand how a city archaeology program can serve the community; empowering members of the public to translate historical information into meaning, and meaning into place.

The rediscovery of Freedmen's Cemetery turned out to be a major event for the city. In 1987, city historian T. Michael Miller came across references to a Freedmen's Cemetery in Alexandria and shared that information with the city archaeologists (Cressey and Vinton 2007: 404-405). As Cressey has observed, the archival and records function of a city archaeology office is vital to its ability to the long-term study of sites (Cressey and Vinton 2007: 405). A few years later, another historian, Wesley Pippenger, discovered what became known as the "Gladwin Record." This was a ledger that recorded the names of the people who were interred at the Freedmen's Cemetery (Cressey and Vinton 2007: 405; Richardson 2007: 10). Again, after the passage of time, a developer proposed building on a site near the area thought to be part of

the Freedmen's Cemetery, although the boundaries of the cemetery were still unknown. The city's archaeology ordinance required the developer to carry out a historical background survey of the site, which provided city archaeologist Steve Shephard with enough information to develop maps showing how the parcel had been divided over the years, and to identify the probable location of the cemetery (Cressey and Vinton 2007: 405).

As a cemetery, and the final resting place for more than 1800 individuals, the site had suffered tremendously through the years (Schulte 2008). In the late 19th Century the cemetery was dug for clay to make bricks; in the 20th Century, the construction of the I-95/495 Capital Beltway disturbed more graves, as did the subsequent construction of a gas station on site (Schulte 2008). In 1997, a *Washington Post* article described the likelihood that the proposed Woodrow Wilson Bridge expansion would damage this historic cemetery still further (Cressey and Vinton 2007: 405; Reid 1997). For many in the region, this was the first that they had heard of the Freedmen's Cemetery, and their response to it was swift.

Lillie Finklea and Louise Massoud are the two citizens who led the fight to save the cemetery from destruction (Bertsch 2008; Finklea 2010). Finklea and Massoud (See Figure 9) quickly responded to the article by forming the non-profit organization "The Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery," and by organizing a wreath-laying event at the cemetery on Memorial Day, 1997 (Bertsch 2008; The Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery 2010). The wreath-laying was attended by two City Council members, and helped to draw attention to the site's sacred nature as a forgotten cemetery of unusual historical significance (Bertsch 2008). Early in the process of drawing attention to the cemetery and its past, Finklea was connected with Cressey and the city's archaeologists:

We got involved in 1997, with Freedmen's, and we were at a stalemate . . . we tried to get the citizens involved and the churches involved, and they didn't really get on board right

away, so Ellen Pickering . . . took me to Pam Cressey, and that's when things changed (Finklea 2010).

Finklea soon joined the Alexandria Archaeological Commission, and the Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery soon found more than a few friends themselves. Working with the AAC, the Alexandria Black History Museum, the city's archaeology staff, city council, and other groups, Finklea and Massoud continued their efforts to publicize, protect and memorialize the Freedmen's Cemetery (Cressey and Vinton 2007: 406). Milestones in this process included raising a State of Virginia Historical Highway Marker at the Freedmen's site, creating a display at the Alexandria Black History Museum, and receiving a Save America's Treasures grant from the National Park Service (Finklea 2010; Cressey and Vinton 2007: 406; Bahrapour 2007).

As Cressey has pointed out, the members of the public and the city's archaeologists were responsible for different aspects of the project (Cressey and Vinton 2007: 406). The city's archaeologists were responsible for bringing their technical skills and knowledge of the site to bear on the work carried out by federal and state agencies involved with the Woodrow Wilson Bridge project, and by the private archaeologists working for those agencies (Cressey and Vinton 2007: 406). Federal legislation required archaeological investigation of the site to determine the impact of the proposed project on historical resources. Because Alexandria Archaeology had been compiling information about the site for some time, their work made sure that the project would have to take the cemetery into account during the planning stages of the project.

While the city's archaeologists focused on the legally mandated archaeology, the Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery and the AAC focused on increasing public awareness and on exploring ways that the site could be protected and re-enter the public consciousness (Cressey and Vinton, 2007: 406). Throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s, Finklea in particular is repeatedly interviewed and quoted in newspaper articles covering the development of the Freedmen's

Cemetery project, from the early (and subsequently annual) Memorial Day commemoration events, to the public hearings that surrounded the city's response to the Woodrow Wilson Bridge project, always making sure that the cemetery received the attention that it warranted (Kelly 2005; Kunkle 2000; Washington Post, 19 July 2001: T11; O'Hanlon 1999).



Figure 9: Left to right: Pam Cressey, Louise Massoud, and Lillie Finklea. Photo by Dave Cavanaugh, 2007.
<http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/pictures/pictures.shtml>

By the late 2000s, it was clear that through the work of all involved, Freedmen's Cemetery had become a very significant site for the people of Alexandria. The city purchased the Freedmen's site in 2007, and on May 12 of that year, the city rededicated the site as a cemetery (Bertsch 2008). The ceremony was a true community effort, with over 1,800 paper luminaries, decorated by school groups, veterans groups, and private citizens, lit in recognition of the individuals who were buried at the site (see Figure 10) (Bahrapour 2007). On May 22, 2007, Mayor Bill Euille signed a proclamation recognizing May 25 through May 31 as the "Week of Remembrance of the Freedmen's Cemetery" (Euille 2007). The City subsequently opened a design competition to solicit proposals to determine the form of the memorial plans for the site. In September of 2008, the design submitted by Alexandria architect C.J. Howard was

chosen from over 200 entries, which had come from all 50 states, and 20 countries (Hagee 2008). In May of 2010, the Alexandria City Council unanimously voted to approve the use of the three acres of land that include the cemetery for the purpose of creating a public memorial park (Goodman 2010).



Figure 10: Paper luminaries decorated by members of Alexandria community for rededication of Freedmen's Cemetery. Photo by Dave Cavanaugh, 2007.

<http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/pictures/pictures.shtml>

These examples - Freedmen's Cemetery, Stonegate, the African American Heritage Park, Tide Lock Park - demonstrate the application of a historic preservation philosophy that really has not been replicated by any other community in the United States. By integrating archaeological concerns into the local development review process, Alexandria's system moves beyond the traditionally defined focus of preservation planning, namely those programs designed to maintain the architectural or historical integrity of buildings within historic districts or individual historic structures. Because it is rooted in historical archaeology, the purpose of which is to generate information about the lives and activities of past cultures, Alexandria's system makes the production and dissemination of historical information to the public the centerpiece of its

program. Preservation planning has come to focus not just on the built remains of earlier eras (though it does that as well), but also on the human aspects of the city's past, on the people who constructed those buildings and lived in the city through time. Focusing on the information and the people of historical eras opens up an entirely new perspective from which the public can experience the city. Preservation in this context ceases to be solely a question of maintaining historical integrity, but rather it encourages the public to ask "what does this information mean to me?" or "now that I know this, what can I do with it?" It creates an opportunity to make preservation about understanding a site's meaning to the community, and about asking how that site and that information can be used in the future. Thus, preservation planning becomes a two sided endeavor – preservation of information on the way into a project by means of the required archaeology during the development stage, and then the reuse, interpretation, or inclusion of that information on the way out, whether on site and in that project or as information that informs other activities in the future.

Conclusion

The municipal archaeology program that exists in Alexandria today is the result of many remarkable people working to protect the resources and information that they felt was necessary to tell the story of their city. It is also the result of Alexandria's residents taking full advantage of the opportunities created by "moments of crisis" for the city's archaeological resources. The impending destruction of Fort Ward led Dorothy Starr to push for city ownership of the site and for its subsequent protection and interpretation as a city park. The partnership with the Smithsonian that created a salvage archaeology component to the city's Urban Renewal projects arose from the realization that those resources were on the verge of being permanently erased. In 1971, when the Smithsonian terminated its funding for the project, the citizens of Alexandria

again took advantage of the opportunity to develop a program that was truly their own. Had the salvage excavations continued to be funded by the Smithsonian, the public would have had no need to rally, respond, and create the AAC. The Smithsonian had all of the intellectual authority to decide the parameters of the archaeology being done, and it is hard to imagine that local residents would have interfered. Once the Smithsonian walked away from the project and concerned Alexandrians asserted their ownership, they had to identify their own goals, find their own resources, and mold its activities to suit their needs and abilities. From that process came a program inextricably bound to the interests of the city's archaeologically minded public.

Alexandria's program is emphatically not a situation where outside experts appeared in a city and tried to convince local residents to protect undervalued archaeological resources. Instead, it is a case of local residents deciding that the protection of the city's archaeological resources was a worthwhile use of their own time and energy. Alexandrians sought outside assistance when needed, but it has always been clear that the city's archaeology program was driven by local values.

CHAPTER III

MUNICIPAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN ST. AUGUSTINE, FL

St. Augustine, Florida has a very long association with archaeology. Because it is the oldest European-American city in the continental United States, and because the city's economy is based almost entirely upon tourism, it is not a surprise that archaeology would have had a role in the city's efforts at preservation and communication with would-be visitors. What is surprising, however, is that despite the degree to which archaeology has contributed to St. Augustine's preservation efforts, the role of archaeology in that process has received relatively little attention from other cities or from planners hoping to achieve many of the same goals in other parts of the country. It would be easy to attribute the success of archaeology in St. Augustine solely to the city's exceptional age, and this might be justified if all of the city's archaeology were restricted to the 16th Century Spanish period. But in fact, most of the archaeology that is presented to the public in St. Augustine dates from the 17th through the early 19th Centuries, periods that could easily be interpreted in other cities throughout the country. Every city has a story that can be told through archaeology, and while the title of "oldest" gives St. Augustine an obvious reason for drawing attention to its age, age by itself is rarely what makes the archaeology of a city significant. That significance comes from the people, actions and events that shaped the city's history. Thus, St. Augustine's age hardly precludes the possibility that other cities, including many with pre-Columbian histories, with European roots that reach to the early 17th Century, or with significant 18th or 19th Century histories, might also benefit from exploring their own pasts through public archaeology.

St. Augustine is also an important case study because its high historical profile has made it a “test lab” of sorts for so many different preservation philosophies and approaches since the late 19th Century. And because historical archaeology has played a role in almost every stage of the city’s preservation efforts, from the inception of the field in the late 1920s and 1930s to the present, exploring how St. Augustine has employed archaeology also provides a way of understanding the relationship between archaeology and the practice of historic preservation. St. Augustine provides an unparalleled opportunity for understanding the role archaeology can play in the development of a community-wide preservation program.

Archaeology and historic preservation have been a part of the local planning context longer in St. Augustine than in almost any other community in the country. Colonial Williamsburg really must be understood as its own unique combination of events, circumstances and personalities, and the country’s two oldest local historic districts, Charleston, S.C. and the French Quarter of New Orleans, were both limited primarily to the protection of existing architectural fabric. St. Augustine, then, might be seen as the first living American city to initiate a comprehensive planning process that included not only the adoption of restoration goals, but also the adoption of restoration goals guided by the prior recovery of archaeological data. Although it is true that World War II forced a delay in the implementation of the restoration effort, a great deal of the early archaeological work that was carried out in the 1930s and 1940s facilitated those efforts when they resumed in the 1950s and 1960s. St. Augustine’s pioneering status in combining archaeology with preservation planning, should be more widely recognized by preservationists, archaeologists and planners than it is at present.

Brief Introduction to the City of St. Augustine

St. Augustine has a history of Native American occupation that long antedates the European presence in the Americas, but the city is most widely recognized today for its status as the oldest continually inhabited European settlement in the continental United States. In 1565, Pedro Menendez de Aviles was sent to Florida by King Philip II of Spain in order to destroy a small French settlement that had begun to take root at the mouth of the St. Johns River (Reps 1965: 32,33). Menendez was initially well received when his ships landed at the site of a Timucuan village (Deagan and Woods 2002: 3). The cacique Seloy provided Menendez and his passengers with a house in his village, and the Spaniards began to fortify the structure (Deagan and Woods 2002: 3,4). That relationship soon soured, however, and in the years immediately following, Menendez and his group of soldiers, sailors, and civilians moved their fort to four different locations, settling in 1570 on the fourth and final position (Chatelain 1941: 46,47). While the site chosen would see seven forts built upon it, the location would not change again and it would remain the anchor for the city of St. Augustine (Chatelain 1941: 46,47).

While St. Augustine was founded before the Laws of the Indies were officially codified in 1573, the city's plan clearly reflects awareness of the principles that guided the formation of that document. The city was laid out to the south of the fort, and reflecting the city's Spanish origins, the settlement generally used a system of gridded streets surrounding a central plaza that was open on one side to the water (Reps 1965: 33). Many of the streets established during this period, particularly those south of the Plaza, are the same streets used by city residents today.

Despite the initial friendliness of Seloy, relations between the Spanish and the Timucuas living in the area were hostile for several years, and converting the Timucuas to Catholicism was not a priority for Menendez and the Spanish. Beginning in 1577, however, a group of Franciscan friars arrived in St. Augustine and began to Christianize the Native American population

(Deagan 2009: 38). By 1586, the village of Nombre de Dios, situated roughly 1 km. north of the Fort, housed a small community of converted Timucuas (Deagan 2009: 38,39). The next year, a mission church was established at the site, and it would continue to convert the Native American population until the Nombre de Dios community was nearly wiped out in a smallpox epidemic in 1654-1655 (Deagan 2009: 40). The mission church itself would remain in use until 1728, when it was partially destroyed in an English raid and was subsequently dismantled by the Spanish (Deagan 2009: 42).

While the continued hostilities between the Spanish and the English during the late 17th and early 18th Centuries would endanger many, they would also provide opportunity for others. Beginning in the late 17th Century, the Spanish adopted a policy of granting freedom to slaves who fled south from England's territories in the Carolinas, in exchange for their conversion to Catholicism (MacMahon and Deagan 1996: 54). The practice was officially sanctioned by King Charles II of Spain in 1693, and it provided a way for more than a hundred slaves to gain their freedom before 1763 (MacMahon Deagan 1996: 54). The freed slaves became members of St. Augustine society, and in 1738, they were formed into a military company in order to create and man part of the city's defenses, a smaller fort north of the Castillo de San Marcos, known as Fort Mose (MacMahon and Deagan 1996: 53).

At roughly the same time that St. Augustine was incorporating former African slaves from English colonies into its population and into its defenses on the city's northern periphery, it was carrying out a similar policy to the city's south. Continuing its practice of Christianizing the surrounding Native American communities, the community of Nuestra Senora del Rosario de la Punta was established by Franciscan missionaries in the 1720s to provide shelter for converted Yamassee and Apalachee Indians (City of St. Augustine Archaeology Program 2011). The

Mission operated for roughly thirty years, housing between 40 and 60 individuals at any one time (City of St. Augustine Archaeology Program 2011). Like Fort Mose to the north, Nuestra Senora del Rosario de la Punta served as a buffer, providing advanced warning and defense should other Europeans or hostile Native Americans try to attack St. Augustine from the south (City of St. Augustine Archaeology Program 2011: Halbirt 2004: 37). The site was abandoned in the 1750s (City of St. Augustine Archaeology Program 2011).

The defenses of St. Augustine, the Castillo de San Marcos in particular, proved effective at protecting the city's population. Until 1695, St. Augustine's fort had been primarily a wooden structure (Halbirt 2004: 38). That year, the city finished the construction of a new coquina fort, designed to be better able to withstand British attack. The timing of the update was ideal. During a British siege in 1702, the city itself was burned and looted, but the population was able to safely hide within the walls of the Castillo until Spanish reinforcements arrived (Halbirt 2004: 36). At the time of the siege, the city's population would likely have been between 1,400 and 1,500 people (Halbirt 2004: 36).

The Castillo de San Marcos represented the strongest component of the city's defense system, but that system also included many other features that provided the city with a measure of security. Particularly following the 1702 raid, the Spanish began to take the defenses of the city very seriously. In 1704, construction began on the Cubo line, a defense work that stretched along the northern perimeter of the city from the Castillo to the San Sebastian River (Halbirt 2004: 38). The Spanish also soon began work on a defensive line farther to the north, known as the Hornabeque, on the Rosario Line which surrounded the city, and on Fort Mose (Halbirt 2004: 38). This was in addition to the various watchtowers and batteries that already existed in the area and which, like Fort Matanzas, were newly fortified to meet the present challenges (Halbirt

2004: 38). The Spanish suffered another British attack in 1728, which was stopped at the Hornabeque, though it is important to note that this attack largely destroyed the Nombre de Dios mission (Chatelain 1941: 88; Deagan 2009: 42).

As a result of the Castillo and its surrounding defensive earthworks, St. Augustine remained under Spanish control until it was ceded to the British in 1763 at the end of the Seven Years' War (Arnade, 1961a, p. 149). The city was subsequently returned to Spain at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War in 1783 (Arnade 1961a: 149). The British period only lasted twenty years, but the disruption caused by their presence can hardly be called minor. When the city was turned over to the British, the vast majority of the city's population sailed for Cuba, leaving a city in the hands of people with no connection to the city and no particular desire to maintain its buildings (Arnade 1961a: 173; Johnson 1989: 31). Although a few of the "best public officials" built new houses in the Spanish fashion, the general trend during the British period seems to have been one of disinvestment. (Arnade 1961a: 171)

The biggest impact of the British presence on the city of St. Augustine was probably the introduction of the Minorcan population. In 1767 and 1768, a Scottish physician named Andrew Turnbull recruited 1,403 individuals, mostly Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, to work on his new East Florida indigo plantation called New Smyrna (Rasico 1987: 162,163). The plantation was a disaster, the conditions inhuman, and by 1777, just under a thousand of the original 1,403 laborers had died (Raisco 1987: 163). Following an investigation, the Minorcans were freed from their labor contracts, and given parcels of land in St. Augustine (Rasico 1987: 163). At the time of the Spanish return in 1783, Minorcans were by far the largest ethnic group in the St. Augustine population (Rasico 1987: 164).

The Second Spanish period was also not particularly noteworthy in terms of the development of the city, though it lasted 1783 until 1821. By this point, Spain's influence in the New World had clearly waned, and as Charles Arnade has pointed out, the city that was once an island of Spanish culture had become a very mixed city, with Spanish, English, Minorcans, Americans and others determining its shape (Arnade 1961a: 149). Fort Mose was briefly occupied and used in 1784 by a group of American dissenters, the "Florida Patriots," in order to fight the returning Spanish (MacMahon and Deagan 1996: 54).

In 1821, Spain ceded its Florida territory to the United States under the terms of the Adams-Onís Treaty (Bradley 1999: 323). By this point, St. Augustine had lost much of its military significance. Created as a buffer between the English and the Spanish, St. Augustine was considerably less important now that it was only an outdated military post in northern Florida. Fort Marion (as the Castillo de San Marcos was now known), would serve primarily as an ordnance depot during the Second Seminole War, but that represented a significant drop in stature for the fort that had once sheltered the entire city's population during the English raids of the early 18th Century (Brown 1983). During the Civil War, Lee removed all but five of Fort Marion's sixty three cannon to more important locations, and, lacking military significance, St. Augustine was allowed to fall into Union hands in March of 1865 (East and Jenkes 1952: 79). The conclusion of the Civil War marked the end of one period of St. Augustine's history, that characterized by its military value, and the beginning of another. Following the Civil War, St. Augustine would become more widely known for its historic charm and its Spanish architecture than for its military significance.

Early Preservation Efforts in St. Augustine

St. Augustine's historic character has long been understood as a valuable asset, and for as long as the city has had a tourism industry, people have sought various ways to take advantage of its historic atmosphere while pursuing their own goals. Even in an era when the city was ridiculed as a backwater² there were plenty of people who found merit in its historic atmosphere and encouraged others to enjoy its purportedly healthful climate. An 1860 article in *The New York Times* described the city as "...built after the manner of the south of Europe, with narrow streets, heavy stone houses, having balconies overhanging the sidewalk...the traveler will find nothing like it in the United States" (*The New York Times*, 28 April 1860: 10). This and other articles from the mid-late 19th Century frequently mention the salubrious nature of the city's climate, its age, its Spanish heritage, and the continued existence of historic structures, generally including the Castillo de San Marcos (*The New York Times*, 30 July 1860: 3; *The New York Times*, 15 April, 1873).

The city's mild climate and its historic nature lured Henry Flagler into beginning his Florida hotel and rail building adventures there, conscious of both the potential draw of its historic resources and his responsibility not to destroy its character. Flagler is important for St. Augustine's history not just because of the monumental Ponce de Leon hotel and its slightly less expensive cousin the Alcazar, but because the tourism industry gave St. Augustine its new "raison d'être." And the key to that reason for being was the city's historic fabric.

² John Temple Graves, writing in 1883: "Now put on thy musty garments, Oh St. Augustine! Gather the cobwebs around thy ancient ruins...for the time of year is come when the people gather from afar..." (Akin, 1988, p. 117)

Flagler had made his fortune at Standard Oil. He had known John Rockefeller before the Civil War, when both men were involved buying and selling grain on commission (Akin 1988: 8). After the war, Flagler would renew his friendship and working relationship with Rockefeller, and by 1867, their oil production company, known as Rockefeller, Andrews & Flagler began to grow (Akin 1988: 26). Flagler was largely responsible for the logistics of oil transportation and for the development of contracts (Akin 1988: 38). In 1870, the firm was reorganized and incorporated as Standard Oil, and Flagler's financial future was secure (Akin 1988: 37,38).

In 1885, after he had begun to ease out of the oil business, Flagler began planning for the Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine (Akin 1988: 118). This process would soon lead him into the construction and operation of railroads that ran the length of Florida, opening large parts of the state for growth and development. He would later become involved with the construction of grand, gilded age hotels in St. Augustine, Palm Beach, Miami and Key West, in addition to one in the Bahamas (Akin 1988).

A 1910 piece in *Everybody's Magazine* quotes Flagler as saying that "My hardest problem was the Ponce De Leon: How to build a hotel to meet the requirements of nineteenth-century America and yet be in keeping with the character of the place" (Lefevre 1910). While not everyone agreed with Flagler's success on this front, his projects certainly brought increased tourist revenue to the city's businesses and raised St. Augustine's public profile to a level it had never previously enjoyed (Drysdale 1889).

At roughly the same time that Flagler was building the Ponce de Leon, the organization that would eventually become the St. Augustine Historical Society began to hold its first meetings, though in keeping with the philosophy of the day, the fledgling St. Augustine Institute

of Science was more an organization dedicated to erudite learning in all its forms than one purely devoted to the study of local history (Graham 1985). The interests of its members included natural history, science and literature (Graham 1985). It developed a collection of natural and historical curiosities, and offered periodic talks to the tourists and visitors coming to the city (Graham 1985).

The organization would soon gain a sharper focus, however, subsequently playing a major role both in the development of the city's historic preservation culture and in the preservation of St. Augustine's most significant historical assets. In 1899, the Historical Society purchased the collection of historical relics and natural specimens left behind by a recently deceased dentist, John Vedder, and subsequently began renting what had been his museum space (Graham 1985). The Society's collection grew, and it began renting a second historic St. Augustine structure, helping to protect that building from destruction or modification (Graham 1985). A fire in 1914 forced the society to find a new space for its collections and offices, and it was ultimately able to secure a cooperative agreement with the War Department allowing the Society to house its museum and exhibits within the Castillo de San Marcos itself, and permitting the Society to offer tours to the public in exchange for acting as the fort's caretakers (Arana 1986: 88).

This turned out to be a very lucrative arrangement for the Society, and the money from the guided tours enabled it to gain control of another of the city's major historic attractions, the building known as "The Oldest House" (Graham 1985: 10). The Society became quite well financed as a result of these two entrepreneurial operations, but another important development came about as a result of the decision to purchase the "Oldest House." Because of the dubious nature of the claims to the title bestowed upon the house by its current and former owners, (it

was not the only house within the city to be presented to the public as the “oldest”) and because of pressure from members who thought that the Historical Society had become more of a commercial venture than a group devoted to historical pursuits, the organization engaged in an exceptionally thorough research project to demonstrate the validity of its claims to ownership of the oldest house in the United States; this project, and its emphasis on collecting historical documentation of the city’s urban past, helped to develop the depth of the Historical Society’s library holdings (Graham 1985: 12,13; Chatelain 1937a: 375).

The historical research carried out in the 1920s, particularly the discovery and collection of several unusually well-detailed maps, continues to pay dividends for those researching the city today. One of these maps, drawn by Elixio de la Puente in 1764, is a cartographer and historical archaeologist’s dream (see Figure 11). It includes the footprints of virtually every building standing when the map was drawn, numbers each building, and identifies the owner of each numbered building along with the condition of the building at the time of the map’s drawing (Arnade 1961: 6,7). Not surprisingly, this map, and others uncovered by the St. Augustine Historical Society during this era, have continued to aid the city’s archaeologists and others in the work of discovering the city’s past and presenting it to the public (Halbirt 1996).

The early 1930s were vitally important years in the field of historic preservation, and events taking place at a national level would soon directly influence the nature of preservation, archaeology, and the use of historic resources within St. Augustine. Roosevelt’s election in 1932 paved the way for an expanded government presence in many areas of American life, including historic preservation and archaeology. The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) began putting architects and draftsmen to work in 1933, researching and documenting the nation’s historic structures. Both HABS and relief archaeology would play a significant role in the

development of preservation efforts in St. Augustine. Many St. Augustine structures were documented by the HABS program, including the Llambias House (see Figure 12), which served as a model for the city's preservation effort (Chatelain 1939: 357-358). The building was jointly purchased by the Carnegie Institution and the St. Augustine Historical Society, deeded to the city of St. Augustine, and then documented and drawn by architectural historian Marion Sims Wyeth and John O'Neil of HABS (Chatelain 1939: 357-358).

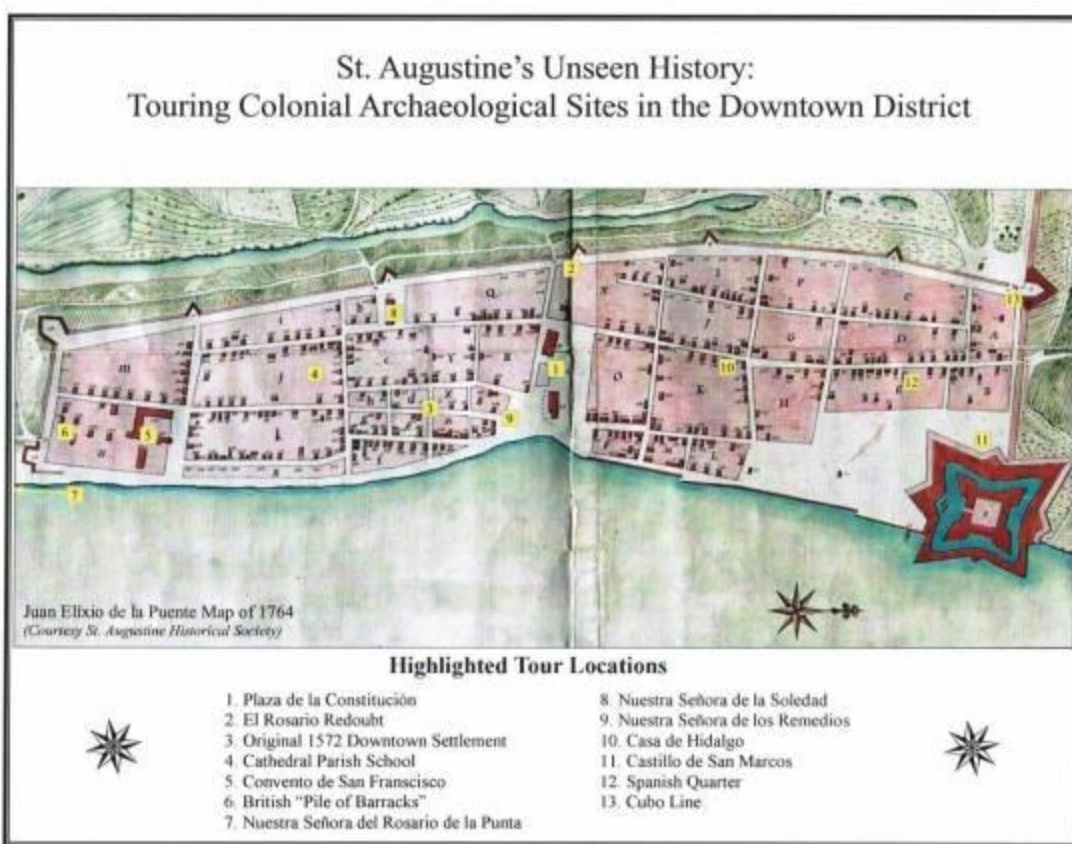


Figure 11: 1764 Juan Elixio de la Puente Map, incorporated into City of St. Augustine tourism promotion material.



Figure 72: Llambias House. 31 St. Francis St. St. Augustine, FL. Historic American Buildings Survey no. HABS FLA, 55-SAUG, 42 Jack E. Boucher, Photographer June 1958 VIEW FROM NORTHEAST

The year 1933 was also particularly significant for St. Augustine in that it saw the federal government transfer the management of all of the military parks, battlefields and cemeteries administered by the War Department to the Department of the Interior (Hosmer 1981: 531, 532). For St. Augustine, this meant that the Castillo de San Marcos would now be administered by the National Park Service, and that the St. Augustine Historical Society would take a less prominent role in the care and interpretation of the city's largest tourist attraction (Arana 1986: 89, 90). It also meant that the city would have access to some of the intellectual resources of the fast-

growing National Park Service. Of course, by the end of 1936, the Carnegie Institution's interest in St. Augustine meant that the city would have a much more direct way of accessing those resources in the person of Verne Chatelain, the first individual to have held the position of Chief Historian for the National Park Service (Hosmer 1994).

What had also become clear by the early to mid 1930s was the incredible success of the Colonial Williamsburg project, which had been envisioned by W.A.R. Goodwin, financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and directed to success by Kenneth Chorley (Hosmer 1981: 67). This project defined the standard that a generation of preservationists would strive to meet, and in a variety of ways, it was the keystone that supported the preservation movement as it began to reach the lofty heights of the 1930s. The high standard for authenticity required by Rockefeller, the enthusiasm and professionalism of the path-making architectural historians, preservationists, and archaeologists, and the site's proximity to Washington, D.C. all helped to fan the flames at Williamsburg. The techniques adopted by that staff soon developed into the preservation field's best practices at the local and the national level (Hosmer 1981: 67). As the "oldest city," St. Augustine was clearly eager to bask in Williamsburg's glow and increase the historically-minded public's awareness of the city's assets. A 1934 article in the *Washington Post* mentions the formation of a promotional partnership between St. Augustine and the cities of Williamsburg, Fredericksburg VA, Charleston, SC and Savannah, GA to exploit the tourism potential offered by the five historic cities (Washington Post, 22 April 1934: 12).

Archaeologists working at Colonial Williamsburg, along with those from the Colonial National Historical Park sites of Jamestown and Yorktown, developed novel techniques that would almost immediately find their way into the work being carried out at St. Augustine. These archaeologists made use of both historical and archaeological information to identify the

structural characteristics of long-vanished buildings. The modern work at Jamestown, begun in 1934, has been identified as marking the origin of historical archaeology in the United States, with the Colonial Williamsburg restoration serving as the direct antecedent where many archaeologists first learned to use their skills on historical sites (Cotter 1993; Noel Hume 1994: 413-419). St. Augustine was just a short step behind the pioneers in Virginia; a 1937 memorandum from St. Augustine Historical Survey archaeologist W.J. Winter to a supervisor plainly states his view that “There is more historical-archaeological work in progress at Jamestown Island and around Yorktown than anywhere else in the country. In fact, I can think of no other project in which the archaeological work so closely parallels ours” (Winter 1937b). That Winter should be involved in work paralleling that taking place in Jamestown should not be a surprise. For one tumultuous year, between the spring of 1935 and the summer of 1936, when archaeologists and architectural historians battled for methodological supremacy at the site of the oldest successful English settlement in the New World, Winter himself was the director of archaeology at Jamestown (Noel Hume 1994: 414-419). He thus had the rare professional opportunity to have excavated both the oldest successful Spanish and English settlements in the continental United States.

Modern Archaeology in St. Augustine

The story of modern archaeology in St. Augustine, then, begins with the 1936 formation of the National Committee on the Preservation and Restoration of Historic St. Augustine. While archaeologists, anthropologists and private individuals had explored and exploited the region’s Native American mounds for decades (Hall 1885; Moore, 1903; Wyman 1874), the St. Augustine Historical Program represents the city’s first effort to use archaeology for the purpose

of restoring the city to something approaching its historical appearance, and for the purpose of presenting that history to the public.

The National Advisory Committee that oversaw the St. Augustine Historical Program had its official beginnings during the summer of 1936, when St. Augustine Mayor Walter Fraser and representatives of the Carnegie Institution and the National Park Service held a series of meetings to discuss the need for some type of preservation program for St. Augustine, and to determine what form such a program might take (Chatelain 1937a; "Report of Sub-Committee No. 1 Dealing with the Fact Finding Survey of Historical Materials Pertaining to St. Augustine, Florida" N.D.). The resources and interests of the Carnegie Institution made it ideally suited for partnering with the city in this project. It had long worked to make historical information of all sorts more readily available to researchers, regularly publishing directories of material related to American history that could be found in various European government archives and libraries. The Carnegie Institution had also made researching Spanish history in North America a priority (Woodward 1914: 231-232; Chatelain 1937a: 372).

From the beginning, the St. Augustine Historical Program was a high power effort. During the course of the 1936 summer meetings, the director of the Carnegie Institution, John C. Merriam, was appointed Temporary Chairman of the National Advisory Committee. On October 26 of the same year, Merriam was directed by the National Committee to form a sub-committee on research, the purpose of which was to:

...furnish the National Committee a comprehensive study and map of St. Augustine as settled by the Spanish, showing the location of its historic structures, as well as the development of the old city through the different periods of its history, and to collect documentary data, legendary and factual, bearing on the settlement of the city by the Spanish and the subsequent occupation...

The subcommittee was also:

...instructed to begin archaeological excavation work immediately in order to unearth and bring to light such additional physical evidence as will throw light upon the life and development of the settlement, all of the information gathered being for the purpose of determining to what extent a reconstruction and restoration program in St. Augustine should be inaugurated (Chatelain 1937b: 1,2).

The individuals chosen to serve on this sub-committee included representatives from the American Council of Learned Societies, from the Smithsonian Institution, from the University of Pennsylvania, the University of California, and the Carnegie Institution. While each member was eminently qualified to sit on the committee, and no doubt made significant contributions to the survey, the individual chosen for the actual work of directing the survey could hardly have been better qualified to lead the project.

Verne Chatelain had the rare combination of being a historian at heart who also understood the importance of the relationship between the public and its history. It also didn't hurt that Chatelain's most recent job prior to working for the Carnegie Institution had been as the Chief Historian and Acting Assistant Director in charge of Historic Sites and Buildings for the National Park Service (Hosmer 1994: 26). Chatelain had in many ways been responsible for the successful administration of the National Park Service expansion of the early 1930s, establishing the principle that the Park Service would treat the nation's historical treasures with the same level of professionalism and respect that it did its then better known natural areas (Hosmer 1994). Chatelain was largely responsible for marrying thorough historical research with public interpretation at the National Historical Parks. He sought to replace the wild inconsistencies and unfounded legend frequently presented as fact by untrained local tour guides by using interpretive programs based on research carried out and vetted by Park Service staff.³ After

³ The tours of St. Augustine's Castillo de San Marcos offered by the St. Augustine Historical Society provide one way of looking at this change. In the absence of verifiable historical information, the Society's tour guides

working through the dizzying first years of the New Deal, and doing so despite a sometimes strained relationship with Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, Chatelain accepted Merriam's suggestion that he join the Carnegie Institution's project as an opportunity to "heal his ulcers" in a more pleasant working environment (Hosmer 1994: 37).

The staff of the St. Augustine Historical Survey Committee included W.J. Winter as archaeologist, Rogers Johnson as engineer, Albert Manucy, a historian who would go on to have a distinguished career with the National Park Service, two typists, a secretary, and Ms. Frances Johnston, photographer (Manucy, 1943; 1949; 1968; "Report of Sub-Committee No. 1 Dealing with the Fact Finding Survey of Historical Materials Pertaining to St. Augustine, Florida" N.D.). The survey group also benefitted from a W.P.A. labor crew secured by the city manager, Eugene Masters, for use in the archaeological excavation work ("Report of Sub-Committee No. 1 Dealing with the Fact Finding Survey of Historical Materials Pertaining to St. Augustine, Florida" N.D.). In the fall of 1936 the City of St. Augustine contributed two thousand dollars to the cause, and provided offices in a local bank to house the Survey staff (Chatelain 1937b: 2; "Report of Sub-Committee No. 1 Dealing with the Fact Finding Survey of Historical Materials Pertaining to St. Augustine, Florida" N.D.).

The members of the Survey staff wasted no time in beginning their work. Chatelain officially assumed his position as Director on November 15, 1936 and began his preliminary survey with a study of the materials to be found in the libraries and archives of Washington D.C. (Chatelain 1937b: 2). Winter arrived in St. Augustine on January 3, 1937, quickly

apparently introduced Castillo visitors to a well dug by Menendez in 1565, to the torture chambers of the fort, and to a quicksand pit used to dispose of bodies. None of these had any basis in reality, but no doubt made for great stories (Graham, 1985, p. 6).

communicating with the other Committee members and preparing a work program (Winter 1937a). By January 4, another survey member, Frances Johnson, had already been photographing the city and giving talks to the public about what a restoration program could mean for St. Augustine (The City of St. Augustine and the St. Augustine and St. Johns Chamber of Commerce 1937).

W.J. Winter was an enthusiastic advocate of the merits of the new historical-archaeological principles connecting his work to that of architects and historians. Given that this development was creating a new field for the application for archaeology, and that he was one of only a handful of archaeologists professionally engaged in this field, his enthusiasm should not necessarily come as a surprise. Still, a January 1937 letter to the Survey Committee in Washington rings as if Winter were writing a manifesto for historical archaeology:

It has been well demonstrated in the last few years that historical research from written records alone is not sufficient to form a complete and accurate picture. Even where written records seem plentiful and adequate they may frequently receive a valuable supplement in the application of archaeological method to the sites concerned. In the matter of restoration this may become doubly important...

...the work of the archaeologist must be in connection with that of the antiquarian who can identify excavated objects such as house equipment of brass, wrought iron, etc., ...It must be in connection with that of the architect who is informed regarding building plans, materials, hardware, etc., It must be in connection with that of the historian doing documentary research on the site, searching libraries, records, patents, deeds and all manner of information-yielding papers... (Winter 1937).

While his comments should probably be seen from the perspective of a staff member communicating with his supervisors and emphasizing the value of his own work, it is clear from this letter and from the communication surrounding Winter's visit to Floyd Flickinger of Colonial National Historical Park, that Winter viewed archaeology as an essential tool in the

process of planning as truthful a restoration and reconstruction for St. Augustine as possible (Flickinger 1937; Winter 1937b).

Winter also shows considerable enthusiasm for the idea of using the archaeological process to engage the public with its history. In September of 1937, after he had been working in St. Augustine's Spanish Quarter for several months, Winter sent a description of work he had been overseeing between Malaga and Ribiera Streets to Chatelain (Winter 1937c). At the time, Chatelain was working from Washington, D.C.:

That southeast corner [of the Malaga St. redoubt]. . . is so plain that I believe it to be about the best example that we have produced for the local citizens to observe. That is, it is so clear that anyone can understand it at a glance, without having to take my word for it and without any lengthy explanations from us regarding its character. I enjoy showing it to people because it is such a fine example of the value of archaeological work in historical research, particularly where restoration is contemplated (Winter 1937c).

It was probably unavoidable that a curious public would want to learn more about the archaeological work that was being carried out in the city's most historic section (see Figure 13 for a similar site). None the less, the fact that Winter was so quick to see the value of this section of the redoubt not just from a historical perspective, or for its value to the proposed reconstruction project, but as a teaching tool for the public, says a great deal about Winter and about the public orientation of the Historical Survey as a whole.

It should be emphasized that the St. Augustine Historical Survey was meant to be the first phase of an integrated economic development and historic preservation plan for the city of St. Augustine. The elected officials of St. Augustine had initiated the project in order to restore the Spanish Quarter to some approximation of its historic appearance, creating an asset that would contribute to local economic activity through tourism. The historical research and archaeology being carried out by Chatelain and the Survey staff under the auspices of the Carnegie

Institution, was meant to ensure that the reconstruction process would restore or recreate the city's historic assets as accurately as possible.



Figure 13: Cubo Redoubt, 1938. Excavation led by W.J. Winter. Photograph by P.A. Wolfe (Chatelain V. E., 1941, p. 46). The circles are the remains of palm logs used to form the redoubt.

To this end, the City of St. Augustine and the State of Florida diligently worked to meet the civic and legal needs of the proposed restoration program. The St. Augustine Preservation and Restoration Association was a local quasi-governmental organization formed largely by the city in order to handle questions of fundraising, planning, and the administration of the city's historic sites program (Chatelain 1937a: 373). All evidence points to their having been quite an effective lobbying group, and to their working in close cooperation with the State of Florida in order to protect and promote the city's historic assets. In 1937, the State appropriated \$50,000 to

support the St. Augustine effort and also declared that the historic sites of St. Augustine were of such unusual public interest that they could be taken by eminent domain for the purpose of their protection (Chatelain 1937a: 373).

Throughout its lifetime, the St. Augustine Historical Program enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the public, both locally and nationally. The St. Augustine Historical Preservation and Restoration Association held a dinner on March 12, 1941, ostensibly to honor the Advisory Board of the National Park Service, but in reality to showcase the St. Augustine program, highlight its achievements, and to continue efforts to build support for its activities (The St. Augustine Historical Preservation and Restoration Program 1941). The list of invitees and attendees for the event reads like a “Who’s Who” of the famous, powerful, or preservation minded. Given the nature of the support that the project received from the Carnegie Institution and the other members of the Committee, this is not necessarily a surprise. Some of these individuals were rising stars while others were falling, but it is an interesting snapshot of American history. Invitees included Joseph P. Kennedy (patriarch of the Kennedy family), Eddie Rickenbacker (the World War I fighter ace), Nelson Rockefeller (future Vice President and Governor of New York), Thomas Watson (President of I.B.M.), Henry Ford, J.C. Penney, Mrs. Frank Crowninshield (who would play a significant role in the formation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation), Ronald F. Lee (NPS Chief Historian, who would also play a central role in creating the National Trust), Fiske Kimball (early architectural historian), Newton Drury (NPS Director), the Spanish Ambassador and a host of senators, bank presidents and business leaders (Invitation letters to dinner of March 12, mailed February 25, 26, 27, 28, 1941).

At the dinner, various dignitaries took turns praising the St. Augustine program. Owen D. Young, formerly the Chairman of the Board of General Electric and a member of the

Advisory Committee of the Restoration Association, described the program as helping to present the background of American democracy in clearer focus and, in so doing, strengthening the fiber of American life (The St. Augustine Historical Preservation and Restoration Program 1941: 2). On March 13, Mayor Fraser presented the 1941 budget to a group of interested attendees. The budget totaled \$100,000, which included \$59,000 for the reconstruction of the Cubo Line between the city gate and the Castillo San Marcos (The St. Augustine Historical Preservation and Restoration Program 1941: 3). The budget also included \$16,000 for planning, research, and office administration, and \$25,000 for publicity, organization, and fund raising (The St. Augustine Historical Preservation and Restoration Program 1941: 3). The group discussed a variety of strategies for obtaining these needed funds, mentioning that of that amount, the citizens of St. Augustine had subscribed \$15,000, and that there was still \$20,000 remaining from the money that the state had allocated for the project (The St. Augustine Historical Preservation and Restoration Program 1941: 4).

Two products emerged from the initial research phase of the St. Augustine Historical Program. The first was Verne Chatelain's *The Defenses of Spanish Florida*, the culmination of the research carried out during the project that related to Spain's historical presence in the state (Chatelain 1941). The book helped to address the absence of significant scholarly work related to Spain's historical presence in the United States that had been identified at the beginning of the St. Augustine project. The book provided a detailed account of the process by which St. Augustine and the Castillo de San Marcos had been built, and it reproduced twenty two previously obscure historical maps of the state, region, and city (Chatelain 1941). It also included extraordinarily detailed notes and finding aids to guide future research on the city's

history and on Spanish defenses (Chatelain 1941). In its efforts to contribute to the scholarship of the Spanish presence in the United States, the Program was a resounding success.

The second product was a proposal for the restoration plan itself. Although the large-scale restoration and reconstruction of the city's historic features would be put off until 1959, the proposed restoration plan did sow the seeds in the minds of community members for how such a development might look in the future. The proposed plan divided the city into zones based on the historic resources present and on their proposed treatments. Within what it regarded as the core of the historic area, roughly to the southwest of the Castillo de San Marcos, the goal of the restoration effort was to bring the historic core of the city to something approximating its appearance during the early 19th century, when the city was last under Spanish control (Chatelain N.D.: 2). To accomplish this, the plan recommended the purchase of lands deemed by the St. Augustine Preservation and Restoration Association to be necessary for restoration purposes (Chatelain N.D.: 2). Interestingly, the plan specifically excluded a handful of tourist attractions (the "Oldest Schoolhouse," the "Old Spanish Inn," the "Old Curiosity Shop" and the "Arrivas House") from this blanket grant of authority (Chatelain N.D.: 2). At least one of those properties, the Schoolhouse, as well as the "Fountain of Youth" property, was owned by Mayor Walter Fraser (Graham 1985: 18). The plan called for the elimination of what subsequent generations would call "non-contributing structures," and recommended that the "development of the area should involve the creation of an open park condition with simple landscaping treatment similar to the condition now existing on the Fort green itself [and] the introduction of an ellipse circling the ancient City Gates and joining St. George St. between the City Gates and the Oldest Schoolhouse. . . ." (Chatelain N.D.: 2). In this district, the plan recommended removing inappropriate signage and overhead wires. In some respects, it may be a good thing

that all of the recommendations were not implemented, because while the removal of inappropriate signage and wires could only help to add to the historical atmosphere, a park-like historic core would certainly have departed from the meticulous authenticity that had guided so many other aspects of the restoration effort.

The plan was ambitious in its scope. While many of these recommendations would remain only proposals, the scheme is one of the earliest efforts at integrating a full-scale restoration program with the needs of a living city. Unlike the restoration plans for Colonial Williamsburg, in which the wealth of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. could basically make certain that restoration efforts met with his standards and expectations throughout the project area, St. Augustine had to maintain a certain level of service provision to the public while also maintaining the goodwill of the local businesses that formed the backbone of the local economy. In this respect, it was operating under similar constraints as Charleston, South Carolina, which adopted the nation's first historic preservation district in 1931.

Reflecting this combination of aspirations and constraints, one proposed zone, A-2, recommended including a "recreational plant" west of the Castillo de San Marcos, which consisted of "an athletic field for baseball and football with grandstand, track, and night lighting facilities...appropriately planned play grounds and other recreational facilities" while also recommending the "reconstruction of the entire defense line, including the moat and coquina bridge to the City Gates and the development of two secondary bridges on either side of the ancient coquina bridge..." (Chatelain N.D.: 4) Another proposed zone, A-3, allowed that "the two or three grocery stores and filling stations already in A-3 may be retained, provided that their physical character is altered consistent with the plans..." (Chatelain N.D.: 6). The description of Zone C-1, which included the area South of Cuna St. and north of King St., recommended that:

to whatever extent is possible without displacing the established business and residential conditions within this area, it is proposed to restore literally buildings once existing; more important, however, it is proposed to recreate, without attempting literal restoration, many characteristic features, particularly the narrow streets, the over-hanging balconies, Spanish balconies and window, the gardens and patios...involved in the historical picture. It is felt that this development can take place within this established business and residential district without changing a great deal of the existing conditions; in many cases store buildings can be refaced and fronts re-developed in order to present the characteristics suggested above. (Chatelain N.D.: 15)

The needs of the current citizens were thus intermingled with the interpretive needs of the city's historic sites.

Aspects of the plan were apparently adopted by City Council, though its timing, coming just at the beginning of America's involvement in the Second World War, greatly limited the degree to which resources could be devoted to its implementation (Manucy 1944: 354,355). By 1944, the program was mothballed, and the materials collected by the St. Augustine Historical Program turned over to the St. Augustine Historical Society.

The St. Augustine Restoration Plan

In 1958, the State of Florida began to plan for the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the state's founding, and not surprisingly, the idea of restoring St. Augustine to something of its former glory resurfaced as an appropriate quadricentennial project (Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials - Special Advisory Committee 1959: 18). In March of that year, Governor LeRoy Collins asked the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials to consider how such a project might go forward (Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials - Special Advisory Committee 1959: 18). Subsequently, the Board created a Special Advisory Committee, which was then made responsible for studying the proposed program and developing a plan of action for getting the restoration plan underway (Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials -

Special Advisory Committee 1959: 18). The Mayor and City Council of St. Augustine officially pledged their support in May, and the new effort was up and running (City Council, St. Augustine, FL 1958).

The Special Advisory Committee wisely looked back before it moved forward, and Verne Chatelain was asked to serve as the executive secretary of the Committee. Although it appears that he was much less involved with this iteration of restoration plan than he had been with the original St. Augustine Historical Program, the research carried out and the plans developed for the earlier program greatly informed the activities of the new committee, and allowed its restoration and reconstruction plan to be developed very quickly (Drane 1959; Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials - Special Advisory Committee 1959).

The “Essential Objectives and Principles” of the restoration plan are abbreviated as follows:

1. The period of the first Spanish occupation . . . is the one of greatest historical significance in the story of St. Augustine and Florida. It is logical to give major emphasis in the Restoration Program to that early period...
2. Present day St. Augustine has a population of perhaps some fifteen thousands of persons. . . This plan contemplates the continued normal use of the city by its citizens.
3. Thus, the Plan contemplates the gradual re-introduction and re-construction of as many of the primary physical features of Old Spanish St. Augustine as may, in due course, become feasible . . .
4. The restoration . . . becomes a matter of doing many little things as well as some big things...it is important to start, and then to keep on relentlessly toward well defined goals.
5. Finally, it is suggested that this Restoration Plan might very well include the acquisition and the development of other sites, buildings, and remains in Florida . . . (Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials - Special Advisory Committee 1959: 20,21)

Chatelain would subsequently be asked to return as a consultant for a week, in 1960, to help make the papers from the Carnegie Institution-era project available to the current effort (Wright 1959). Given that so much historical research had been carried out already, it should not come as a surprise that the new program focused much more of its attention on the actual physical restoration of the Spanish Quarter.

The State of Florida played a much larger role in directing the restoration program this time around than it had in the previous effort. In May of 1959, after a bit of legislative wrangling, Governor Collins signed House Bill 774 and established the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission (St. Augustine Record, 1 September 1961: 1). At its inception, the Commission was established with a budget of \$150,000 in state funds (Daytona Beach Morning Journal, 5 June 1959). The governor would also be responsible for naming the five individuals to serve on the commission, with St. Augustine resident H.E. Wolfe named as the Chairman (St. Augustine Record, 10 September 1959). The Commission's survey team, which would ultimately be responsible for developing the restoration plan, included Dr. Charles Arnande, historian; Dr. John Dunkle, cartographer; William Stewart, architect; and Dr. Hale Smith, archaeologist (Chandler 1961).

As it had during the 1930s and early 1940s, archaeology continued to play a role in the second push for the restoration of the Spanish Quarter of St. Augustine. Additionally, the idea had begun to circulate among those involved with restoration project that the city might want to consider requiring archaeological investigation prior to new construction or to the laying of utility lines (Drane 1959). The head of the anthropology department at Florida State University, Dr. Hale Smith, had carried out archaeology in the city for several years, working with the St. Augustine Historical Society, and he would soon become the face of archaeology for the new

project (Drane 1959; Smith 1961). In a September 1959 letter to the 400th Anniversary Committee, Smith urged city officials to consider the role of archaeology in both the restoration program and in new development within the city (Drane 1959). Smith would apparently get at least part of his wish. In the first season following his letter, he would excavate the Arrivas house, demonstrating the value of historical archaeology to the restoration effort. Working with architectural historians, Smith was able: 1) to expose and date buried features of the property 2) to determine certain characteristics of the owners, such as their nationality, and 3) to provide a rough timeline for when the house would have been altered, how it would have been altered, and who might have made those alterations (Smith 1961).

This detailed research would go to good use, as the individuals charged with carrying out the project still sought to emphasize the authenticity of the restoration effort. Earle Newton, the executive director of the project, would tell a newspaper reporter in 1961 that “the restoration of the ancient city is a task that should not move too rapidly.” (Chandler 1961) The reporter notes that in order to achieve authenticity, everything was being done by hand: “the cedar shingles are being split by hand. The balcony railings are hand finished, coquina rock is being broken as it was done 200 years ago, and the metal hinges and latches for the gates are being forged by hand” (Chandler 1961). Given the complexity of the work involved, it was no small accomplishment that the restoration effort was able to move forward at as quick a pace as it did.

There was never a question as to whether the city and the citizens of St. Augustine were in favor of the restoration efforts, however. That support certainly played a role in the success of the program. In the city’s 1960 Comprehensive Plan, for example, which was no doubt already underway as the Governor was still forming the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, the city committed itself to the wholesale relocation of its central

business district from the Spanish quarter to a new site on King St., to the old district's southwest (see Figure 14) (City of St. Augustine 1960). The Comprehensive Plan, guided by the city's newly created city planning commission, basically ceded the Spanish Quarter to the Restoration and Preservation Commission (City of St. Augustine 1960). After the plan recommended that the Central Business District should be moved from the Spanish Quarter to its new site, it began referring to the Spanish Quarter as "The Historical Area-Tourist Center" (City of St. Augustine 1960: 79). The plan recommended using the city's zoning powers to their "maximum extent" in order to assist the Preservation Commission in carrying out its goals, continuing to recommend sign regulations, and to develop various proposals for handling the needs of tourists and residents traveling by car (City of St. Augustine 1960: 79-97).

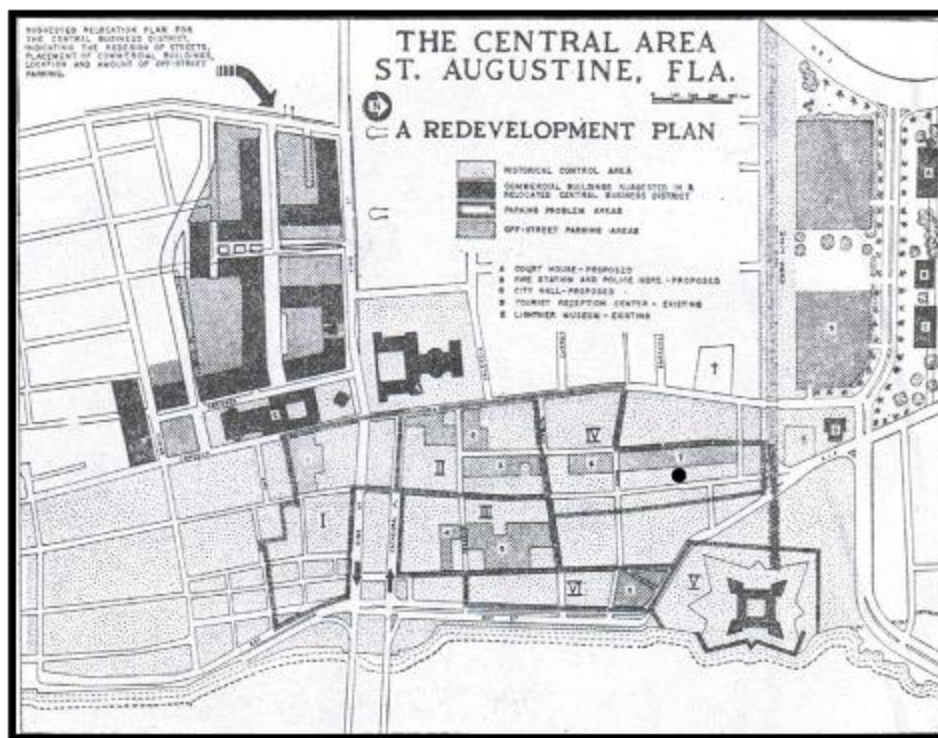


Figure 84: Map of St. Augustine Redevelopment Plan. The location of the Arrivas House is identified with a black dot (City of St. Augustine, 1960).

The city apparently executed this idea very quickly. By 1962, the Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission had prepared a document titled *Handbook of Colonial St. Augustine Architecture* that was intended to serve as a set of design guidelines for property owners working in the city's historic district (St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission 1962). The preface of the book, written by executive director Earle W. Newton, cites the problem created by the city's Zoning Ordinance, which required owners and builders to build in accordance with the principles of "St. Augustine Architecture," which were explained in the ordinance, but had not been illustrated. The designs in the book were based on another book written by an alumnus of the original St. Augustine Historical Project, Albert Manucy (St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission 1962).

By the end of 1961, the restoration program had begun to have a visible impact on the appearance of St. Augustine's Spanish Quarter. The Arrivas House, at 46 St. George St. had served as the 'test project' project for the restoration and was the first to go through the process of research and restoration (Arnade 1961b). Archaeological excavations had taken place in the ground both within the house and in the surrounding area, and the building had been extensively researched through historical records (Arnade 1961b; Smith 1961). The restoration program had removed various "modern excrescences" during the process, and by studying the elements of the building that had been left intact, returned the house to what was believed to be its late 18th century appearance (Smith 1961b). In December, the *Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal* published a photo of the restored house, not yet open to the public, adjacent to the earliest known photo of the house, dating from the mid-19th Century (see Figures 15 and 17) (Chandler 1961). These two buildings look remarkably similar, though the restored version obviously looks much tidier. A comparison of the restored version with an earlier photo taken just before the

commencement of the restoration project (see Figure 17), however, provides some insight into just how far the house had declined in the ensuing years (Smith 1961).



Figure 15: The Arrivas House in the mid 19th Century (Smith H. , 1961, p. 4).



Figure 16: Arrivas House in 1960, just prior to restoration (Smith H. , 1961, p. 4).



Figure 17: Arrivas House in 1961, following restoration (Chandler, 1961, p. 1d).

The restoration plan adopted a phased approach, in which those buildings on the north end of the Spanish Quarter, closest to the Castillo de San Marcos, would be restored first, followed by those buildings just to the south and along Bay St. and finally the area south of King St. would be gradually “rehabilitated” rather than restored, as it was envisioned that in this area, change would take place more slowly and on a “piecemeal” basis (Dunkle 1961). Stories ran throughout the end of 1961 and into the coming year highlighting the dramatic changes taking place in the old Spanish Quarter (St. Augustine Record, 12 November 1961:1; St. Augustine Record, 18 March 1962: 1B). Some historic buildings, such as the Arrivas house, were restored

to an earlier appearance, some buildings were “remodeled” in line with the city’s new “old” aesthetic, while buildings deemed not important or historic enough were torn down and replaced with reconstructions of earlier buildings. Although it represents a preservation strategy that would likely be frowned upon today for its heavy-handedness in re-writing the history of the city’s built environment, it was certainly effective in drawing attention to St. Augustine’s Spanish past. Another 1961 article describes the atmosphere in the city:

Twentieth Century buildings are crumbling all over central St. Augustine to make way for an 18th century future. Two of the largest bay front[t] hotels – outmoded by motor court development- are slated for demolition in 1961. The Catholic Church has removed the massive Bishops Block at the corner of St. George and Cathedral Streets, revealing the handsome Post Office building, modeled after the original Governor’s Mansion which stood on the site. Private owners have begun to remove antiquated dwellings, and to confer with the commission as to their replacement with replicas of the charming original Spanish colonial homes and gardens (St. Augustine Record, 1 September, 1961: 8).

The Restoration program would continue to make almost astounding progress in the short period before the 1965 quadricentennial celebration. A press release written by St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission Executive Director Earle W. Newton and dated December 16, 1962 provides an excellent snapshot of how the restoration program was progressing and growing as its work continued (Newton 1962). The release describes the formation of a new organization, St. Augustine Restoration Inc., which was to work alongside the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, handling the actual restoration effort while the Commission would continue to be responsible for the administrative duties of the project (Newton 1962). The press release spells out some of the accomplishments of the restoration effort to date, praises the private organizations and individuals who have supported the program thus far, and outlines some of the activities expected to take place in the near future (Newton 1962).



Figure 18: The Rodriguez-Avero-Sanchez House.
Author Image, 2010

The release also mentions that the first demonstration restoration was the Arrivas house, finished in 1961 (Newton 1962: 2). The first demonstration reconstruction was the Avero-Salcedo house, which was completed in early 1962 (Newton 1962: 2). The restoration of the Gallegos house, an example of tabby construction, was slated to be finished by the end of the year (Newton 1962: 2). The release continued to identify projects that would be completed in the coming year, including the Blanco house and the Penalosa-Avero Mansion, and praised private property owners who had begun to engage in restoration work on their properties, including the owners of the de Mesa house, and the Rodriguez-Avero-Sanchez house (see Figures 18 and 19) (Newton 1962: 2). The release makes clear that not only were local residents

were making progress in restoring the city, but also that others moving in different circles were aware of the changes as well. According to the release,

President Kennedy himself recently voiced a personal interest in the project, stating that he felt that a restored St. Augustine could stand as a symbol of the link between U.S. and the Hispanic countries, just as Colonial Williamsburg has served as a visible symbol of the bonds between the English speaking peoples (Newton 1962: 3)

With the hopes of a president riding on their efforts, it is hard to imagine the project proceeding in any manner but the one it did.

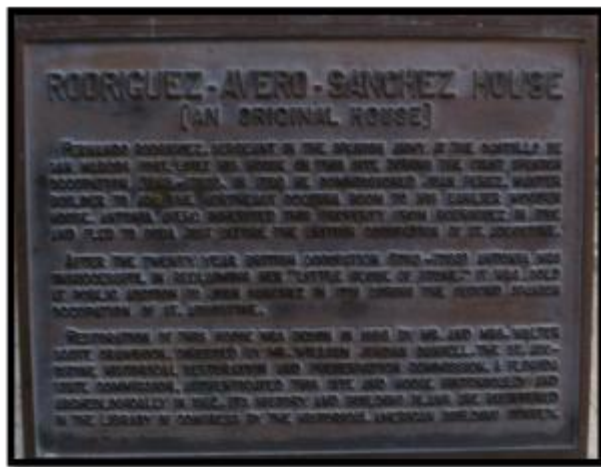


Figure 19: The Rodriguez-Avero-Sanchez House. In part, the bottom paragraph of the interpretive plaque reads:
"The St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, a Florida State Commission, authenticated this site and house historically and archaeologically in 1962."

Newspaper articles leading up to the 400th anniversary celebration indicate a city that was clearly enjoying the improvements being made and the attention that those efforts were yielding. A *New York Times* article describes the city as being in the midst of the "biggest building boom this ancient city has ever experienced..." (Wright 1965). The Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine was restoring the Cathedral of St. Augustine, and constructing a 200 foot tall stainless steel cross at the approximate location where the Spaniards first raised the cross in what would become St.

Augustine (Wright 1964). The National Park Service was straightening Castillo Drive, building additional parking space, and reconstructing a portion of the Cubo Line (a defense work originally of palm logs, but here being reconstructed of log-shaped concrete...) (Wright 1964). Planned celebrations and events included the Fiesta de Menendez, the Fiesta of Four Flags, a Pan-American festival, a Hispanic fashion show, a “Day in Spain” festival, the performance of “Cross and Sword,” a historical drama written for the event and presented at the newly constructed amphitheater in Anastasia State Park, and many other events (Wright 1964). The government of Spain committed itself to building a \$100,000 exhibition hall for the Inter-American center, and perhaps most significantly for the long-term health of the city’s historic character, the State of Florida had committed itself to an ongoing, 20 year, \$20 million restoration program for the city (Wright 1964).

The restoration program was a resounding success for the city of St. Augustine, and the program continued, though with somewhat less fanfare and with considerable changes in the financial and administrative circumstances of the program, until 1997 (Crabbe 2010). Even after the city had celebrated the quadricentennial anniversary, archaeology continued to be used as a source of information and as a check to ensure a strong level of authenticity in the reconstruction effort. In 1969 Robert Steinbach, archaeologist for the Department of Research and Construction for the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, penned a description of archaeology’s role in the process of learning about a building site (Steinbach 1969). It is interesting that while the emphasis of Steinbach’s description is still placed on the continuing reconstruction effort, archaeological features capable of providing additional cultural information clearly received more attention than they had in earlier newspaper articles, if not in

the digs themselves, reflecting the changes that had taken place in historical archaeology over the previous thirty years:

These features [wells, privys and trash pits] constitute “time capsules” as the material found in them was usually deposited in a relatively short period of time. It is from these sources that we gain much of our knowledge concerning the occupants of the lot during successive periods. . . Since pottery of a specific type or pattern was usually made during a relatively short period of time, it is possible to use this as a time marker in assigning a date to the deposit. It is also useful as an indicator of affluence; the more wealthy a man, the more expensive his table service. . . Shreds of cooking and eating utensils, buttons and other items provide information useful to the domestic interpretation of the site. Animal and vegetable remains give valuable clues as to the diet of the occupants. A detailed analysis of these finds constitutes the archaeologist’s contribution to the history of the site (Steinbach 1969).

Archaeology had proven its worth in the city’s reconstruction effort and Steinbach’s article pointed in a new direction for archaeology within the city, though it was still unclear what form its future incarnation might take. The city continued its restoration program, and would continue to work with different organizations and institutions, and within a decade of this article, the city took a major step in broadening the scope of archaeological research beyond the restoration area, exploring instead the city as a whole.

Conditions for the St. Augustine Archaeology Ordinance Take Shape (1976-1985)

The restoration program represented one major stage in the growth of St. Augustine’s relationship with archaeology, and throughout the 1960s and 1970s, many buildings in the Spanish Quarter and other St. Augustine neighborhoods would be restored to their historic appearance or reconstructed entirely. Within this context, archaeology continued to play a major role in developing information that could be used in the planning of accurate restoration work. But historical archaeology had long since moved beyond its early association with building foundations, instead using a more methodological approach to surveying archaeological sites to

gather as much information about previous occupants as possible. This broader view of the significance of the people of St. Augustine opened the door for new strategies of gathering information through archaeology. The need for information from a wider range of sources, not just from building sites, also helped to lay the foundation for St. Augustine to develop and adopt its archaeology ordinance in December of 1986.

The restoration effort was whole-heartedly involved in the use of modern methods to learn what could be discovered about the city's past inhabitants through archaeological research. In 1976, a Florida State University archaeological field school led by Dr. Kathleen Deagan began a survey to determine the limits of the original 16th Century settlement in Downtown St. Augustine (Deagan 1981). The survey was carried out in the oldest part of the city, which was generally south of Treasury St. and north of St. Francis St. (Deagan 1981). The survey was funded in part by the St. Augustine Restoration Foundation, Florida State University, the Florida Board of Regents, the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, and the Lightner Museum (Deagan 1981). To carry out the survey, Deagan and her students used a gas-powered auger to dig four inch wide holes at five and ten meter intervals throughout the city's historic downtown area, sampling in a grid when the surface conditions of the very active and long since built-out archaeological site permitted (Deagan 1981). The survey allowed Deagan and her students to identify for certain the location of the sixteenth century settlement. The City of St. Augustine would work with the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board to continue the auger sampling project through 1979, using city personnel, expanding to include the entire corporate limits of the city (Deagan 1981). This survey would provide the information needed to lay the groundwork for the development of the city's archaeology ordinance in December of 1986.

Both Deagan's article and a 1979 newspaper article stress that the surveys will help in planning future development within the city. The *St. Augustine Record* explains that

One of the main purposes of the project is the location and investigation of archaeological resources which may lie in the path of scheduled public construction areas. The destruction of archaeological and historical resources has long been a problem throughout America in the face of rapid urban expansion. It is a problem with which the city and the nation have become increasingly concerned with and are trying to alleviate through projects such as this one (St. Augustine Record, 26 January 1979).

Nationally, this was the era in which the expansion of CRM archaeology was proceeding with great haste, as the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, and section 4F of the Department of Transportation Act and the money made available through the Moss-Bennett Act all combined to create a new model of archaeology for federally funded or permitted projects. The terms of these various pieces of legislation would have made developing a map of the city's archaeological resources very prudent, in order to guide decisions that would minimize damage to historic sites or archaeological resource areas. The auger sampling carried out in 1979 was funded by a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) grant, which was used to provide public works department employees with exposure to the types techniques and types of material that were relevant to archaeologists (St. Augustine Record, 26 January 1979). The auger survey was being carried out as part of the HSAPB's Historic Properties Inventory, and it was expected to form the basis for future cooperation and a tighter working relationship between the City Department of Public Works and the HSAPB (St. Augustine Record, 26 January 1979).

Deagan would remain the major force behind university-based archaeology in St. Augustine from the mid-1970s into the present, and her research would repeatedly demonstrate the historical significance of St. Augustine to the academic community, to city officials, to

residents and tourists alike. In addition to the many articles and books published by Deagan making the archaeological information recovered in the city accessible to the public, other non-academic sources eagerly picked up her work, frequently placing it within the realm of tourism (Deagan 1983; 1996; 2007). A 1981 *New York Times* article describing the city's "Spanish Charm" also includes a mention of Deagan's discovery of the "oldest water-well site in America, dating from the 1580s" (Oglesby 1981). In the era before the city adopted its archaeology ordinance, and even after that point, Deagan's research has to be seen as a major catalyst for recognizing the value of the city's archaeology.

The relationship between the city of St. Augustine and the archaeologists working in St. Augustine, both those working in academe and for the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board (HSAPB) continued to build in the early 1980s. A 1984 memo between City Engineer Michael A. Rourke and City Manager Calvin E. Glidewell reflected the positive relationship between the city and the HSAPB, which was the name now used by the former St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission (Rourke 1984; Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board 1971). HSAPB archaeologists Bill Adams, Robert Steinbach and Stanley Bond had asked the engineer to allow them to carry out a small excavation prior to work that the city was doing on historic St. George St., and Rourke informed the City Manager that he thought their work worthwhile, and had gladly given the archaeologists permission to excavate (Rourke 1984).

This was far from the last time that the HSAPB archaeologists would become involved in salvage archaeology, but it was probably one of the last times that they did so without a well-organized group of citizens at their back. In 1984 or early 1985, Dr. John Griffin, who was formerly a regional archaeologist for the National Park Service and who had been director of the St. Augustine Historical Society between 1958 and 1971, along with archaeologist Valerie Bell,

led a small archaeological training seminar for interested volunteers at the “Oldest House” site, which was owned by the St. Augustine Historical Society (Jones 2002; Tingley 2010). In May of 1985, Stanley Bond began the process of organizing a volunteer archaeology group, named the St. Augustine Archaeological Association (SAAA), and the participants in the Historical Society’s training excavation formed the core of that group (Bond 1985a; Tingley 2010). Bond sent letters to potential members indicating that the charter meeting of the group would be held on May 16, during “History Week,” and that the subject of the meeting would be a talk on a St. George St. excavation (Bond 1985a). The initial meeting was apparently successful, with Bond’s subsequent newsletter reporting a membership roster that included 28 family memberships and 43 individual memberships for the new SAAA (Bond 1985b). The newsletter also informed members about an opportunity to participate as volunteers in a dig underway at the Nombre de Dios site in St. Augustine’s Fountain of Youth Park, which was being led by a University of Florida anthropology graduate student, Ed Chaney (Bond 1985b; Chaney 1987). The labor for the dig was primarily provided by students participating in an archaeology field school offered through the University of Florida, but a small number of interested volunteers were being accepted into the excavation (Bond 1985b; Chaney, 1987). Dr. Deagan was the Principal Investigator on the project, and Chaney was one of Dr. Deagan’s graduate students (Chaney 1987).

It did not take long before this group of volunteer avocational archaeologists found a challenge that would galvanize them into becoming ardent protectors of St. Augustine’s archaeological resources, and which would change the way the city’s development processes responded to the presence of archaeological resources in building sites. By January of 1986, the one page newsletter of the SAAA included invitations from Bond for volunteers to come and

participate in excavations underway at the “Fiesta/ Potter’s Wax Museum Site” (Bond 1986).

This site was in one of the most prominent, most historically significant locations in the city, immediately to the south of the city plaza and across the street from the Matanzas Bay. Bond’s description of the site draws attention to its containing “...the 16th Century Catholic Church and cemetery, several 17th and 18th Century buildings including the house of Elixio de la Puente, and a 19th Century wharf and warehouse complex” (Bond 1986). He also emphasizes that “Experience is not a criteria since all types of jobs are available” (Bond 1986).

The “Fiesta/Potter’s Wax Museum” excavation was being carried out because the site was being cleared for redevelopment as the St. Augustine Fiesta Dining and Shopping complex. In early May, Bond and volunteers from the SAAA organized a “gala costume ball” and a scavenger hunt in order to raise money for the Fiesta dig (The Compass, 2 May 1986: 3). Many accepted Bond’s invitation to visit the site and learn about archaeology. One account featured in the SAAA newsletter, provided by volunteer Corky Caraway, recounts how he had time off from work over the summer and decided to spend some of it at the Fiesta dig (Caraway 1986). He describes showing up at the dig, learning a little bit about the site, and being introduced to the work taking place at the screens, which he identifies as “my home for the next two weeks” (Caraway 1986: 2). As a result of his experience, Caraway learned “to recognize the different types of material that showed up in the screens after the dirt was washed away” including different types of bone, pottery, metal, and construction materials (Caraway 1986: 2).

Subsequent newsletters make evident the pressure felt at the Fiesta site by the archaeologists and members of the SAAA:

There is not much time left. Fiesta Associates, the developer of the property, has graciously allowed archaeologists to excavate this site while they finish plans and

await permits to begin construction sometime this summer. Volunteers are desperately needed to help with one of the most important archaeological sites in St. Augustine. Without the volunteers, evidence of Elixio de la Puente and 16th & 17th century St. Augustine will be lost forever (St. Augustine Archaeological Association 1986: 1).

The sense of urgency that motivated the archaeologists and volunteers at this site quickly pushed the members of the SAAA and others in the community to create a more formal arrangement for linking archaeology with the development process in St. Augustine. In this respect they were aided by the close involvement of an archaeology supporter in the city's planning efforts. In August of 1986, the city was in the process of revising its Comprehensive Plan, and the firm that had been given the contract for writing the Historic Preservation element of the Plan was Historic Property Associates Inc. (Russo and Howard 1986). This company was headed by Bill Adams, the former director of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board (Russo and Howard 1986).

As such, the historic preservation element of the city's 1986 Comprehensive Plan devoted a great deal of attention to the city's archaeological resources, listing all of the excavations known to have taken place, going back to W.J. Winter in the 1930s, Robert Steinbach in the 1960s and 1970s, and Kathy Deagan in the 1970s and 1980s (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986: 41-44). The preservation element listed 57 digs, and identified the major excavations on a city map (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986: 41-45).

Also included in the Preservation element of the Comprehensive Plan was a map of the city's proposed archaeological zones, as identified during the auger survey conducted by Dr. Deagan and HSAPB in the late 1970s and 1980s (see Figure 20) (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986a: 37,39). The zones are identified and described as "priority zones for various levels of mitigation" (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986a: 38) Within Zone A, there was no doubt that

underground disturbances would result in a significant adverse impact on below ground resources. The plan explains that “Extensive archaeological excavation should be conducted before any underground disturbance, including building construction or utility excavation, is undertaken” (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986a: 38). Zone B contained sites that were important, but it was apparently possible that development could take place without compromising the archaeological materials; as such, sites within Zone B were to be tested prior to construction activity, and if the testing revealed significant resources likely to be damaged, an excavation was recommended (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986a). Zone C contained high potential for archaeological sites, but were simply to be monitored during construction (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986a).

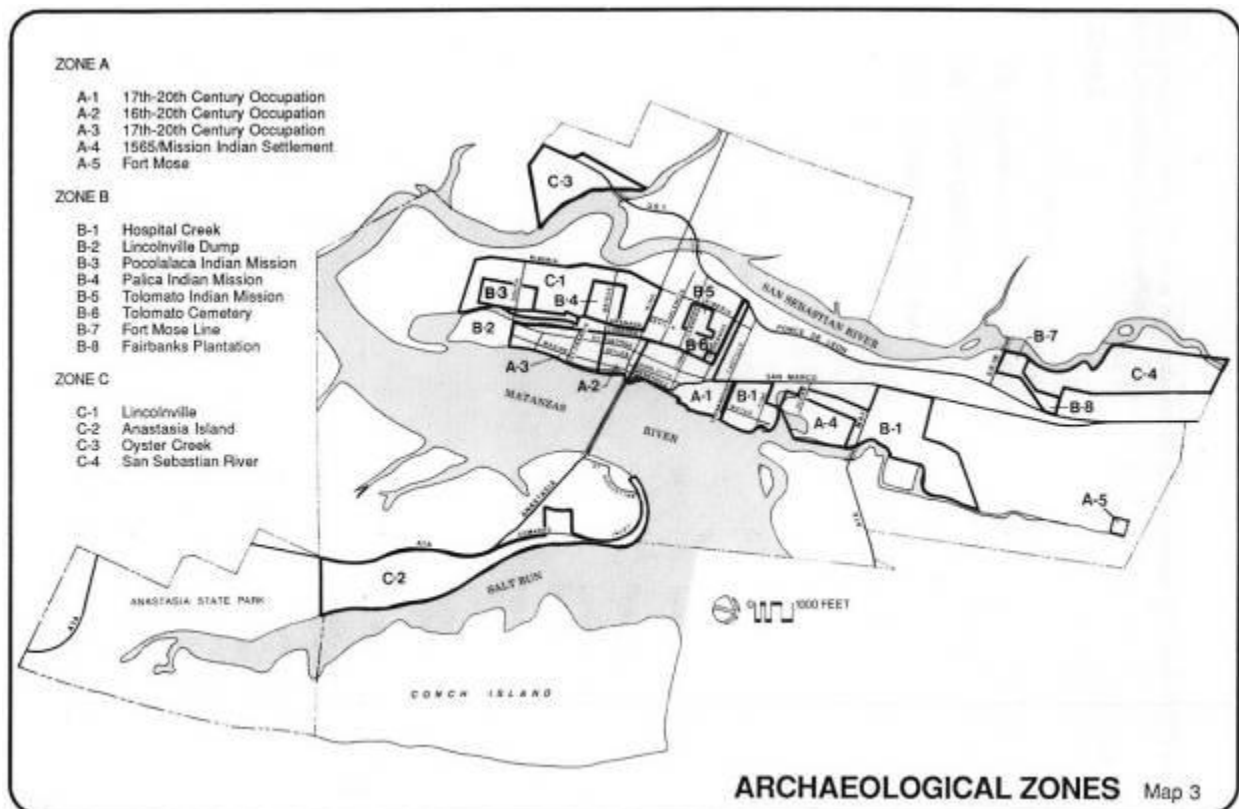


Figure 9: Map of archaeological zones identified in the Historic Preservation element of the 1986 City of St. Augustine Comprehensive Plan Update (City of St. Augustine, Florida, 1986, p. 39).

Implementation of the St. Augustine Archaeological Protection Ordinance (1986-1990)

Without an ordinance to enact the policies recommended in the Comprehensive Plan, the archaeological zones would have been nothing more than public policy suggestions. As the level of specificity found in the Plan implies, drafts of an archaeological protection ordinance were circulating and being revised concurrent with work on the Comprehensive Plan, and with the work at the Fiesta/ Potter's Wax Museum/ Elixio de la Puente site. In early August of 1986, the City Council was already debating the merits of the archaeology ordinance that would spring from the recommendations included in the Comprehensive Plan (Russo and Howard 1986).

Unfortunately, some of the problems that would bedevil the ordinance in later years would make themselves evident from the outset. Identifying a funding source that would allow the city to carry out its archaeology was a highly contentious process; Adams suggested that impact fees should be paid by developers looking to build in the historic areas, while city manager Mike Rourke felt that such a program would be asking too much of the developers (Russo and Howard 1986). A subsequent newspaper article highlighted concerns that, as then worded, the ordinance would require anyone planting a bush to contact the city for archaeological review (Howard 1986). A member of the architectural review board was identified as saying that he thought the fees were too high (Howard 1986). The city manager thought that the ordinance as written would be unenforceable, wisely suggesting that the ordinance should be tied to the process of obtaining a building permit (Howard 1986).

The proposed ordinance continued to be revised however, and following a few more minor changes to the October 8 draft, it was passed by the City as Ordinance No. 86-42, the "City of St. Augustine Archaeological Preservation Ordinance" on December 8, 1986 (City of St.

Augustine, Florida 1986b). In its November/December newsletter for the year, the SAAA described the ordinance as “A giant step toward better protection of St. Augustine’s historic past,” and continues, recognizing that “although some areas of the document have drawn considerable discussion, the general framework has received strong support” (Dow 1986: 2).

The key elements of the ordinance were as follows: The City Manager was authorized to appoint a city archaeologist (City of St. Augustine 1986b). The city was divided into zones, based on the likely presence and perceived significance of its archaeological resources. Zone I was known to contain the city’s most significant sites, Zone II was known to contain important sites, and Zone III contained areas that had high potential for archaeological sites to be found (City of St. Augustine, 1986b). Depending upon the Zone in which a proposed project was taking place, the applicant would pay a fee for an archaeological permit, and the site would be subjected to varying degrees of archaeological investigation, with Zone I receiving the most scrutiny, and Zone III the least (City of St. Augustine, 1986b).

The Zones were more archaeological categories than zones in typical planning usage, in that there was no land simply designated “Zone 1.” Instead, the ordinance identified five areas of the city that were the most significant, and identified them as zones I-A through I-E (City of St. Augustine, Florida, 1986b: 5,6). These zones included sites that reflected the city’s 16th and 17th century history (Zones I-A, I-B, I-C, and I-D), as well as Native American Mission sites (Zone I-D), prehistoric sites (Zone I-D), and Fort Mose (Zone 1-E) (City of St. Augustine, Florida, 1986b: 6). The same procedure was followed for Zone II, resulting in Zone II-A through II-H, and for Zone III, resulting in Zone III-A through III-D (City of St. Augustine, Florida, 1986b: 6,7).

The Ordinance mandated that any activity requiring a city building permit, utility permit, or right-of-way permit and involving activities taking place more than 12 inches below the ground surface would also require an archaeological permit application to inform the city archaeologist of the ground disturbing activity (City of St. Augustine, Florida, 1986b: 8,9). Generally speaking within Zone 1, the city archaeologist would undertake a salvage excavation limited to the area to be disturbed by construction. The archaeologist could delay construction for up to 4 weeks on his own authority, and with the approval of the City Manager, he could delay the project for an additional 8 weeks if needed (City of St. Augustine, Florida, 1986b: 10). After 8 weeks, the archaeologist could only continue to dig if the land owner agreed to let the archaeologist excavate (City of St. Augustine, Florida, 1986: 10). Within Zone II, the project could only be delayed for 6 weeks without the property owner's permission (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986b: 10). Within Zone III, the site could be monitored by the archaeologist and tested or excavated, though the ordinance didn't specify what was to take place if something exceptionally significant were found (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986b). The artifacts themselves, once recovered, remained the property of the owner of the land on which they were found, though with the permission of the property owner, the city could maintain possession of the artifacts for up to two years to allow for analysis, documentation, and conservation. Property owners were encouraged by the ordinance to donate any artifacts recovered to the city (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986b).

The fee structure that funded the city's archaeological program was also noteworthy. Within Zone I, the individual applying for a building permit would pay 1% of the total estimated project cost to the city to cover archaeological expenses, and in Zone II, the applicant would pay ½ of 1% of the estimated project cost (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986: 11). If the costs of

the excavation were to exceed the amount paid, the archaeologist and the city manager were to estimate the expected cost of the continued excavation, and the developer would be required to deposit that amount with the city (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986: 12).

For all of the Ordinance's complexity and initial controversy, its passage was hailed as a major triumph for the city and for archaeology. Mayor Kenneth Beeson declared "I consider this to be one of the most important ordinances the commission has considered since it was seated..." (Howard 1986). A letter to the editor in the *St. Augustine Record* drew readers' attention to the praise the city had recently received in the *Florida Anthropologist* for its archaeological enthusiasm, for the excavation of the Fiesta site, and for the collaborative relationship between professionals and avocational archaeologists (Dow 1987). Bruce Piatek and Christine Newman, archaeologists with the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, were appointed to fill the role of City Archaeologist (Hawk 1987).

It is important to understand that during the period prior to the Ordinance's passage, the membership of the SAAA did more than simply show up for opportunities to dig. They provided the political support for an ordinance that would probably otherwise never have landed on the city council's docket. In their description of the ordinance, published in the *Florida Anthropologist*, Piatek, Bond and Newman describe how three organizations: The St. Augustine Preservation Board, the City of St. Augustine, and the St. Augustine Archaeological Association worked together to develop the ordinance (Piatek et al. 1989). Specifically, they describe the importance of volunteers:

The Formation of a strong volunteer organization, the St. Augustine Archaeological Association, was also instrumental in the enactment of the ordinance. This group provided a vocal and voting constituency that attracted the

attention of elected officials. They attended city council meetings and thereby demonstrated local support of the ordinance (Piatek et al. 1989: 134,135).

The authors also describe how “influential volunteers” such as Robert Dow, met with elected officials to discuss the merits of the ordinance (Piatek et al. 1989: 135). In addition to the political support applied by the volunteers, their availability to work alongside the archaeologists as trained laborers made (and continue to make) the implementation of the ordinance possible. In their article, Piatek, Bond and Newman describe the presence of the volunteers as being a “major factor in the effective and cost efficient operation of the program” (Piatek et al. 1989: 136).

Following the establishment of the ordinance and of the SAAA, the number of opportunities for non-professionals to become engaged in recovering and learning about their city’s past dramatically increased. The SAAA lectures provided monthly opportunities to listen to lectures by academic and professional archaeologists working in the area, including Kathleen Deagan and Eugene Lyon, and the organization also brought local residents to visit regional archaeological attractions. The March/April newsletter let members know that with the passage of the city’s archaeology ordinance, there would be not only opportunities for volunteers, but a real need for their involvement (Bond 1987). Subsequent newsletters would continue to update members about archaeological activities taking place in the community, and provided opportunities to learn not only about the “glamorous” side of archaeology, but also exposed local residents to the historical research and lab work that is fundamental to understanding the significance of archaeological sites. In a short piece in the November/December newsletter, Christine Newman alerted SAAA members that a particular dig, behind the Government House just off of the Plaza, would need volunteers for excavation, screening, cleaning and analysis, as

well as for keeping up a “running commentary for the passing tourist and local folk” (Newman 1987: 2).

Given the widespread benefits that the program would eventually contribute to the community, the ordinance came to the City at a surprisingly low cost. The cooperative relationship between the City and the HSAPB meant that the city was responsible for roughly half of the initial cost associated with the project (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1987). The minutes of the City Commission meeting for May 11, 1987 include discussion of the proposed budget for the archaeology program, with Robert Steinbach of the HSAPB estimating that the total annual cost of the program would be approximately \$92,500, excluding depreciation on capital expenditures, and services such as office and lab space in the Government House building, and telephone use, that HSAPB would be willing to provide (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1987: 17,18). Of that original budget, the HSAPB expected to pay approximately \$47,500, while the city would pay approximately \$45,000 (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1987: 17). The minutes of the meeting show City Manager Rourke explaining to the city Commission that of the city’s portion, “...almost 40,000 of that would be the salaries of two archaeologists and their fringe benefits with the balance being a small contingency and some expendable expense items” (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1987: 18).

The budget request for FY 1988/1989, presented to the city in July of the following year, shows a slight increase, and it detailed how those sums were expected to be spent (Newman C. , 1988). According to the proposed budget, the city would be responsible for paying the salaries of the two archaeologists, and for picking up certain operating expenses, such as lab supplies, pollen analysis, carbon 14 dating and fuel for vehicles (Newman 1988: 1). The HSAPB meanwhile, as a state agency, paid for the benefits received by the archaeologists, and identified

operating expenses generally associated with the archaeology building facility itself (power, water, sewer) as well as the cost of having their in-house administrator, historian, curator, and secretarial services devote a percentage of their time (10%, 20%, 25% and 10% respectively) towards duties associated with the archaeological ordinance (Newman 1988: 2). The HSAPB also paid for the initial capital expenses of a vehicle, a backhoe, camera, transit, and other tools necessary to carry out the ordinance, though the value of these items is not included in the total amount attributed to the administration of the ordinance in the 1988/1989 budget request (Newman 1988: 2). Not including capital outlays for the building itself, machinery and equipment, HSAPB proposed to pay \$51,332 towards operating expenses associated with the city's archaeology ordinance (Newman 1988: 3). The City of St. Augustine was expected to contribute \$52,200 of the proposed budget (Newman 1988: 1).

But even as some details of the city's archaeology ordinance were being ironed out, others were becoming more complicated. A memo written in September 1988 between the HSPAB (Acting Director Hector Miron, and Archaeologists Bruce Piatek and Christine Newman) and city manager Mike Rourke, illustrates some of the frustration and confusion related to the costs of running the new program (Miron et al. 1988). In the memo, HSPAB responds to a note from Planning and Building Director Troy Bunch, in which Bunch had suggested that HSPAB was billing the city for administrative costs that the city should not have to bear (Miron et al. 1988). The archaeologists responded by including their logs of hours worked on city projects, and copies of the original interlocal agreement between the HSAPB and the City, which stipulated that the city was responsible for the salaries of the archaeologists and "associated overhead and expenses relating to the two individuals being employed" (Miron et al. 1988). The disagreement would not be quickly resolved.

Despite administrative headaches, the ordinance and the archaeological permit became a part of the development review process within St. Augustine. The city began requiring archaeology permits in August of 1987, charging 1% of total project costs for projects taking place in Zone I, $\frac{1}{2}$ % of project costs for Zone II, and $\frac{1}{4}$ % of the project costs for Zone III (Hawk 1987). Between October 1987 and September 1988, the city issued archaeology permits for thirty separate projects, collecting \$18,504.63 in archaeology fees in the process (Newman, 1988).

Not all of the thirty permits necessarily triggered a full archaeological excavation. As indicated by the terms of the ordinance, some may only have required monitoring or testing, but the types of projects that required permits provide an idea of the range of projects that were affected by this permitting process. Of the thirty permits issued in the first year, many were for relatively small projects related to individual residential units: four were for swimming pools, three were for home additions and two were for garages (Newman 1988). The type of construction determined the project's potential for disturbing archaeological sites. Slab construction, for example, might not have met the minimum 12 inch depth required to trigger archaeological review under the original ordinance. Other permits issued were for commercial, non-profit, or city projects. The fees collected for archaeology brought the city's cost for the program's first year down to roughly \$27,000. Given that roughly two thirds of the administration of the ordinance was being covered by the HSAPB or through archaeology fees, this cost has to be seen as a relative bargain.

Throughout 1988 and 1989, the city's archaeology, its ordinance, and the role of volunteers all became increasingly visible. A November 1988 article describes the excavation then taking place at the St. Joseph's Convent on St. George St. (Danahy 1988). The convent was

about to build a new wing, and as a result of the new permitting process archaeology was being carried out beforehand (Danahy 1988). The article introduces the city's archaeologists, explains their backgrounds and how they came to their positions, and also briefly describes the role of volunteers in the implementation of the ordinance. According to Valerie Bell, HSAPB Curator, "If we didn't have volunteers, this...would shut down. Almost everything is done by volunteers...they're used for everything except digging and analysis" (Danahy 1988). Christine Newman also described the role of the volunteers as essential: "We couldn't run the program without volunteers... it couldn't be done. They're three fourths of the program" (Danahy 1988). It is worth noting that in the near future, the program would become dependent upon the ability of volunteers to carry out some of the digging as well (Halbirt 2010).

Another dig, taking place at the Ribera house on St. George St. in January of 1989, provides a window into the growing relationship between the professional archaeologists and preservationists, volunteers, other community groups and the tourists visiting St. Augustine (Feagin 1989). The project was funded in part by the HSAPB, the Ancient City Arts Alliance, the Tourist Development Council, St. Johns County Commission, the State of Florida's Bureau of Historic Preservation, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (Feagin 1989). Stan Bond, still an archaeologist for the HSAPB, described the project as a "showcase of archaeology for visitors and townspeople" (Feagin 1989). The information gleaned from the site would help to develop the story of Mestizos in 17th Century St. Augustine (Feagin 1989). Bond also echoed the sentiments frequently expressed at other digs, that the preservation board's archaeology program would not be possible without the volunteers, who were "asking really nothing in return except the experience they get with us" (Feagin 1989).

Despite the popularity of archaeology in St. Augustine, the city's program continued to face difficulties that would ultimately sour the relationship between the city and the HSAPB, and require significant changes to the administration of the city's archaeology ordinance. Through the end of 1988 and the first half of 1989, letters and memos between the HSAPB and the City Manager's office continued to reflect the administrative difficulties of a program funded by two agencies, the uncertainty inherent in archaeological research (not knowing what will be found, how long it will take to excavate the artifacts, and what it will cost to analyze and preserve those artifacts once they are out of the ground) and the indifferent or outright hostile attitude harbored by some within the city administration and within the development community towards the idea of involving archaeology in the development review process (Miron 1988; 1989; Piatek 1988).

By April of 1989, the difficulties the city was having implementing its ordinance had become public knowledge (Shaver 1989). At one city commission meeting, City Manager Mike Rourke expressed his opinion that it was never anticipated that the HSAPB's work would be subsidized by the city's general revenues, and that the work required by the ordinance was supposed to be fully funded by the permit fees (Shaver 1989). This seems an odd position, given that the interlocal agreement between the HSAPB and the City clearly states that should archaeological expenses exceed the amount budgeted, the HSAPB would notify the city of the amount needed, and city would "forthwith cause such additional amounts to be so deposited with the Trustees [of the HSAPB]" (Beeson 1987). Regardless, the effect seems to have been that the city felt the ordinance and interlocal agreement gave the HSAPB too much authority to spend city funds, while the HSAPB felt that the city's sudden fiscal conservatism was destroying the organization's ability to maintain minimum professional standards.

The city soon began the process of ending the involvement of the HSAPB in the administration of the ordinance, making the necessary revisions to resolve the logistical and financial problems that had arisen during the first two years of the ordinance's existence, and changing a few other aspects of how archaeology would be carried out in the city. A first round of revisions prepared by the city attorney and being considered by the City Commission was found by archaeological authorities and local residents alike to be severely lacking (Shaver 1989b; Board of Directors, St. Augustine Archaeological Association 1989). The enmity resulting from the proposed changes and strained relationships between the archaeologists and the city was such that when the city's archaeology ordinance won an award from the Florida Archaeological Council, the sponsors of the award's nomination, Bond, Piatek and Newman, withdrew their sponsorship of the city's ordinance because they felt that as a result of the revisions then being discussed, it could no longer serve as a model for other communities (Krywko 1989).

Subsequent rounds of revisions prepared by the City ultimately included many of the changes and suggestions received by the Commissioners (Board of Directors, St. Augustine Archaeological Association 1989; Shaver 1989c; Deagan 1989). The new ordinance raised the fees charged for the city's archaeological permits to 1 ½ percent of total project costs for Zone I, 1 ¼ percent for Zone II, and 1 percent for Zone III (Shaver 1989c; City of St. Augustine 1990). It also changed the depth of disturbance which could trigger the ordinance from twelve inches to three inches, which was actually a major improvement given the close proximity of many historic resources to the ground's surface in the city (City of St. Augustine 1990). The revised ordinance also made the city responsible for finding an acceptable curation facility for artifacts found as a result of the ordinance and donated to the city and for artifacts found on city property,

and by making the city archaeologist a city employee, rather than an HSAPB employee paid by the city, clarified the managerial relationship between the city and the archaeologist (City of St. Augustine, 1990; Shaver, 1989c).

The revised ordinance was seen as a significant improvement over the earlier draft, and it received the support of those who had been the most directly involved with the sometimes quite heated debate over the future of the city's archaeology program. Stan Bond communicated to Michael Rourke that he,

. . . along with other archaeologists and interested individuals in St. Augustine and the State of Florida, will support the adoption of this ordinance... Although the passage has been a long and sometimes controversial process, I believe it is a better document because of the input . . . by professional archaeologists throughout the state and nation along with concerned citizens in St. Augustine. We appreciate your response to our recommendations for changes to the original draft" (Bond 1990).

When local political issues threatened the viability of the city's ordinance as a tool for protecting St. Augustine's archaeological resources, the community rallied to make sure that the revised ordinance, and its budget, was still able to meet the needs of the four hundred and twenty five year old community. Although HSAPB's involvement with the city's archaeology ordinance had come to an end, the city's archaeology program itself would continue. After the relative turmoil of the late 1980s, which saw the creation of a very active avocational archaeology group, the formation of what may have been the nation's first local archaeology ordinance, the near destruction and subsequent resurrection of that ordinance, the city's archaeology program was about to enter a prolonged period of stability as it hired Carl Halbirt, the archaeologist that would guide the program for the next twenty years.

The Continued Growth of the St. Augustine Archaeology Program (1990-Present)

In April of 1990, Carl Halbirt began his new position as the archaeologist for the City of St. Augustine (Halbirt 2010). By all accounts, he fully embraced the public orientation of the city's archaeology program from the very beginning of his tenure as city archaeologist. This, the growing awareness of the value of heritage tourism to Florida's economy, and the expanding size and sophistication of the support organizations for archaeology in Florida have all played a role in the continued development of St. Augustine's archaeology program.

When Halbirt arrived in St. Augustine, he had already worked for sixteen years as a professional archaeologist in the southwestern part of the country (Halbirt 2010). It is entirely possible that the city could have hired an archaeologist who did not recognize the role of the public in the city's program. Fortunately, Halbirt recognized that the city's relationship with private individuals was arguably the program's most important asset. As should probably be expected, the St. Augustine Archaeological Association welcomed Halbirt into their group, and within a year he was elected the organization's Board of Directors (St. Augustine Record, 6 February 1991).

Halbirt's first few years of running the City of St. Augustine's archaeology efforts appear to represent an era of steady productivity, during which archaeology was carried out in conjunction with those members of the public who wished to be involved, and in which developers and residents of the city came to accept the fees and permits now required for construction within the city's historic areas. During his first five months on the job, he completed 12 separate projects (Pratt 1990). The construction of new drive-up automatic teller machines at a local bank on Cordova St. triggered the ordinance, for example, at which point

Halbirt and seven volunteers uncovered more than 10,000 artifacts including pottery, brass, buttons, faunal remains, and other kitchen-oriented artifacts dating to the early 1700s (Pratt 1991). During the same summer that this dig was taking place, archaeological testing was taking place at the site of a new garage, the excavation of a utility trench was being monitored, and construction along Bridge St. was also being monitored for archaeological impacts (Halbirt 1991). All four of these activities were triggered by the city's ordinance, were led by Halbirt, and were in one way or another dependent upon SAAA volunteers (Halbirt 1991). In May of 1992, seventeen volunteers were honored in a resolution passed by the St. Augustine City Commission recognizing their contributions of time and effort (St. Augustine Record, 3 May 1992). Between them, they had donated over 800 hours to the city's archaeology program (St. Augustine Record, 3 May 1992). What comes across in these articles is the image of a well-run city program operating with strong community support and achieving some well-deserved recognition in the process. In a paper presented at the Florida Anthropological Society in May of 1993, Halbirt makes it clear that the ordinance revisions passed by the city in 1990 had taken root and that the program was again producing the kind of systematic and scientific archaeology of which the city could be proud (Halbirt 1993).

In many ways, 1993 was a banner year for archaeology in St. Augustine. The activities of that year provide some insight into how the city's archaeological community had quickly matured to the point that academic archaeologists and their students, the city archaeologist, volunteers, and state and local organizations could work together not only to identify and excavate sites, but to communicate the importance of those sites to the rest of the community, state and the country. In the summer of 1993, Kathleen Deagan discovered the remains of the first fort built by Pedro Menendez de Aviles in 1565 (Wilford 1993). This fort represented the

exact location of the beginning of the permanent European presence in what is now the continental United States, and its discovery drew national attention by way of an article in *The New York Times* which included a large illustration of how the sixteenth century fort would likely have appeared (Wilford 1993).

That same summer, Bruce Piatek, the HSAPB archaeologist who had once worked as the city archaeologist, led an excavation that made heavy use of SAAA volunteers at the Royal Governor's Residence near the city's plaza that received just over 105,000 visitors over the course of the seven month dig (Bowman 1993: Tingley 1993). One of the features that visitors were able to see was the 17th century wooden barrel used to form the bottom of the governor's well. Members of the St. Augustine Archaeological Association contributed over 5,000 hours of volunteer time to the project, acting as interpreters and field workers. Students from Flagler College also participated in the excavations (Tingley 1993).

Halbirt, meanwhile, made three significant finds of his own while carrying out the city's archaeology program. One was the first piece of Native American pottery recovered in Florida bearing a Spanish name, dating to the late 17th Century (Tingley 1993). The second was an early 17th Century "log well," which as the name indicates, was a log that had been hollowed out in the center to place in the bottom of a well, functioning much like the barrel well discovered at the Governor's residence (Tingley 1993). The third major "find" was a 350 year old wooden bowl, which was found at the bottom of the log well (Tingley 1993). In addition to these finds, Halbirt and the ever-ready crew of SAAA volunteers worked a late 16th-early 17th Century site just west of the Fountain of Youth park, identifying fence posts and a ditch that may have been associated with the Native American Nombre de Dios mission site (Tingley, 1993). At the same time as these digs were taking place, Halbirt was preparing what became the *Windows Through Time*

exhibit, which was funded in part by the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation by way of Florida's Bureau of Preservation (St. Augustine Record, 12 December 1993; City of St. Augustine Planning and Building Division 1993). The travelling exhibit showcased the type of information that was being recovered through the city's ordinance, and helped local residents to understand both how archaeology worked and how the city's ordinance fit into the process of recovering the city's archaeological data (St. Augustine Record, 12 December 1993).

As if all of these activities weren't providing local residents with a sufficient dose of archaeology, in 1993 the State of Florida held its first ever Archaeology Week in early October (St. Augustine Events: October 2-9, 1993). In St. Augustine, this meant a week of lectures, slide shows, archaeology themed bike rides, and other activities aimed at bringing archaeology to the public (St. Augustine Events: October 2-9, 1993). Of course, St. Augustine was not the only city in Florida to be aware of its archaeological heritage, and other archaeologists in other cities, including Judy Bense in Pensacola and Bob Carr in Miami, worked to provide a measure of protection to archaeological sites within the communities where they worked as well (Kaczor 1993).

While the attention paid to archaeology in these cities may have been primarily oriented toward local audiences, awareness of the Florida's archaeological riches did not stop at the state's borders. Tourism had, of course, been a part of St. Augustine's economy since before the Flagler era, and throughout the 20th Century archaeologists played an essential role in uncovering information to be used in the reconstruction of historic houses to be seen by tourists, but by the early 1990s, archaeology itself was helping to bring tourists to the city. Readers of *Historic Preservation* magazine were informed that in St. Augustine:

Every year city archaeologist Carl Halbirt conducts ... excavations in the colonial city, and at each he welcomes both visitors and volunteers to sift through Saint Augustine's history for a couple of hours or a couple of days... It is not uncommon, he says, for visitors to Saint Augustine to extend their stay or cancel other plans for the chance to 'work the screens' themselves...Considering the city's multiple personalities, there could hardly be a better way to experience the changes of four centuries of European settlement than with a trowel in hand." (Nickens 1993:110).

When carried out by a seasoned public archaeologist who understood the importance of interacting with the public, the enforcement of the city's archaeology ordinance provided an incredible opportunity to get people interested in the city's past, and to introduce them to the practice of archaeology. For a city that relied so heavily on presenting an image of historic authenticity, Halbirt's work was pure promotional gold.

Halbirt has maintained the integrity of the St. Augustine Archaeological Protection Ordinance, and in the process helped to demonstrate the degree to which the development review process could accommodate archaeology in one of the most historically significant and archaeologically complex sites in the nation. The members of the St. Augustine Archaeological Association continued to provide the city with a trained labor force that it could never otherwise have afforded, and in turn, the relationship between the city archaeology program and the SAAA gave members a way to experience their city in a way that few other people in the country could. The media exposure centered around the city's historic assets helped to distinguish St. Augustine from Florida's other beach towns, supporting the city's primary industry and bringing a different demographic group to the city than might otherwise have been the case. The network of organizations supporting archaeology continued to expand, and as time passed the city's program, and the actors in its program, became more sophisticated in the methods they used to use archaeology in the context of development.

During the time that the different components of the St. Augustine archaeological apparatus developed to form its current shape, other changes were taking place that facilitated the program's work of connecting the public with its archaeological heritage. The Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) is a network of regional centers for promoting archaeology within the state of Florida. In 1999, University of West Florida professor Judy Bense was asked by the Florida Secretary of State for her thoughts on the problems facing Florida archaeology (Bense 2004). The major problem Bense identified was the near complete lack of protection for archaeological sites at the local level (Bense 2004). Even in Pensacola, the archaeology program that Bense had helped to establish in 1993 did not apply to private projects on private property (Kaczor 1993). The ordinance established in St. Augustine, which applied to private as well as public projects, was still very much an anomaly. In order to combat this problem, Bense recommended the establishment of regional public archaeology centers by way of the State's Division of Historical Resources, which would increase public awareness of archaeology, would encourage public participation in the archaeological process, and would work with local governments to establish protective ordinances and policies (Bense 2004). Ultimately, the Florida Public Archaeology Network developed a tripartite goal of public outreach, assistance to local governments, and assistance to the Division of Historic Resources as its work related to archaeology (Florida Public Archaeology Network 2010). While the City of St. Augustine had never been entirely alone in its efforts at promoting archaeology to the public, today it has considerable help from the network of authorities who place a great deal of value on the relationship between the public and its archaeological resources.

Likewise, the SAAA, an organization that has been helping to protect the city's archaeological resources for over two decades, has recently positioned itself to enter a new area

of archaeological protection. In 2004, the required excavation that preceded the construction of the “Bonita Bay” residential subdivision unearthed the remains of the church and cemetery from the mission community of La Punta, which had been home to Yamassee and Apalachee Indians, and which was abandoned in the 1750s (Gatlin 2010). The site was found to contain at the graves of at least 75 individuals (Gatlin 2010). Although initial concern had been that the site would be destroyed by the development, the neighborhood association, the City of St. Augustine, and the SAAA were able to work out an agreement which placed the land containing the burial sites under easement, without disturbing the remains, and with the SAAA functioning as the easement holder (Gatlin, 2010). According to SAAA president Julia Gatlin, the agreement reached between the three parties is unique in the United States for the way in which it protects an archaeological site (Gatlin, 2010).

In recent years, the economic downturn has had, perhaps not surprisingly, a positive effect on the pace of archaeology in St. Augustine. Halbirt estimates that prior to the beginning of the Great Recession in 2007, roughly 90% of his time was devoted to compliance archaeology – making sure that the ordinance was being administered properly (Halbirt 2010). Since development pressures have eased somewhat, Halbirt has more time to devote to artifact analysis, report writing, and developing different public outreach projects (Halbirt 2010). This reprieve is relative, however. As of 2010, Halbirt still estimated that 70% of his time was spent enforcing the ordinance (Halbirt 2010).

Thus, the City of St. Augustine has done an exceptional job of making the protection of archaeological sites and the recovery of archaeological information a widely shared community goal. The program as it exists today is supported in part by the City and its ordinance, by the SAAA and its volunteers, by the local academic community and by the state’s programming as

well. All of this has combined to make the city uniquely prepared for the conduct of public archaeology. As a result of archaeology, the city has been able to demonstrate the historical significance of the city, use that information to develop assets that draw visitors to the city thereby supporting the local economy, and it has been able to provide a way for community members to access their past in a way that is almost impossible anywhere else in the country. St. Augustine has, most definitely, benefitted from its city archaeology program.

CHAPTER IV: MUNICIPAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN PHOENIX, AZ

The City of Phoenix has been directly involved with the production and dissemination of archaeological knowledge arguably for longer than any other American city. Its decision to maintain an archaeologist on the public payroll since 1929 lets Phoenix lay claim to supporting the “first city archaeologist in the United States” (Bostwick 2009: 2) As archaeology’s relationship with the public developed over the course of the 20th Century, that position allowed the City to provide residents of Phoenix with access to archaeological resources in a variety of ways, always changing to meet the needs of the community and the best practices of the profession.

Phoenix is a western city built in the middle of a large complex of Hohokam ruins. That close proximity to archaeological sites allowed the city’s growing population to purchase and protect the Pueblo Grande Platform Mound. The 1924 purchase of the site and its subsequent donation to the city by Thomas Armstrong Jr. led the City to develop the Pueblo Grande Museum, a facility that in many ways has served as the nerve center for municipal archaeology in Phoenix ever since (Wilcox 1993b: 86). Until recent decades, however, the influence of the city archaeologist was largely limited to areas on or near the Museum grounds. Administrative changes that have taken place over roughly the last twenty years have allowed the city archaeologist to step away from the museum and begin to push for the protection of archaeological resources in other arenas. This has included taking steps to develop an ethos of archaeological protection among city employees and contractors who work under the auspices of the City of Phoenix. It has also included major efforts to make archaeology a consideration in the private development review process.

The city's archaeology advocates have worked hard to balance the protection of archaeological resources with the reality of the city's well deserved reputation as a magnet for growth and real estate development. Yet Phoenix does not have an ordinance specifically designed to require archaeological evaluation for private development, and as such there are clear limits to what can be protected by the regulations currently in place. Instead, the city's system of archaeological protection is based in making thorough use of existing legislation from other sources, such as the city's Comprehensive Plan, and the city's historic preservation legislation, and state regulations that determine how Native American burial sites are to be treated when encountered by public or private development. The City has done an exemplary job of protecting and providing access to an archaeological site through the Pueblo Grande Museum, and this entity deserves a great deal of credit for nurturing the public's interest in the archaeology of the city. But Phoenix also deserves attention because of what it has been able to accomplish without an archaeological protection ordinance in the face of some of the 20th Century's most explosive growth.

The Hohokam Presence in the Salt River Basin

In a very real sense, the modern city of Phoenix must thank the pre-Columbian Hohokam civilization for selecting the city's future site. The Hohokam were a Native American society that flourished in southern Arizona, near the Gila and Salt Rivers, between approximately 1 A.D. and 1450 A.D. (Bostwick 2008: 10; Hill et al. 2004) This culture was responsible for constructing, using, and maintaining an extensive network of irrigation canals that allowed water from the two rivers to be used for agriculture and to support a population of over 40,000 people at its peak in the early 1300s (see Figure 21) (Hill et al. 2004). The canals extended up to six

miles inland and up to twenty linear miles from the rivers, producing more than 20,000 hectares of irrigated land (Hunt et al. 2005: 433; Fish and Fish 1992: 272).

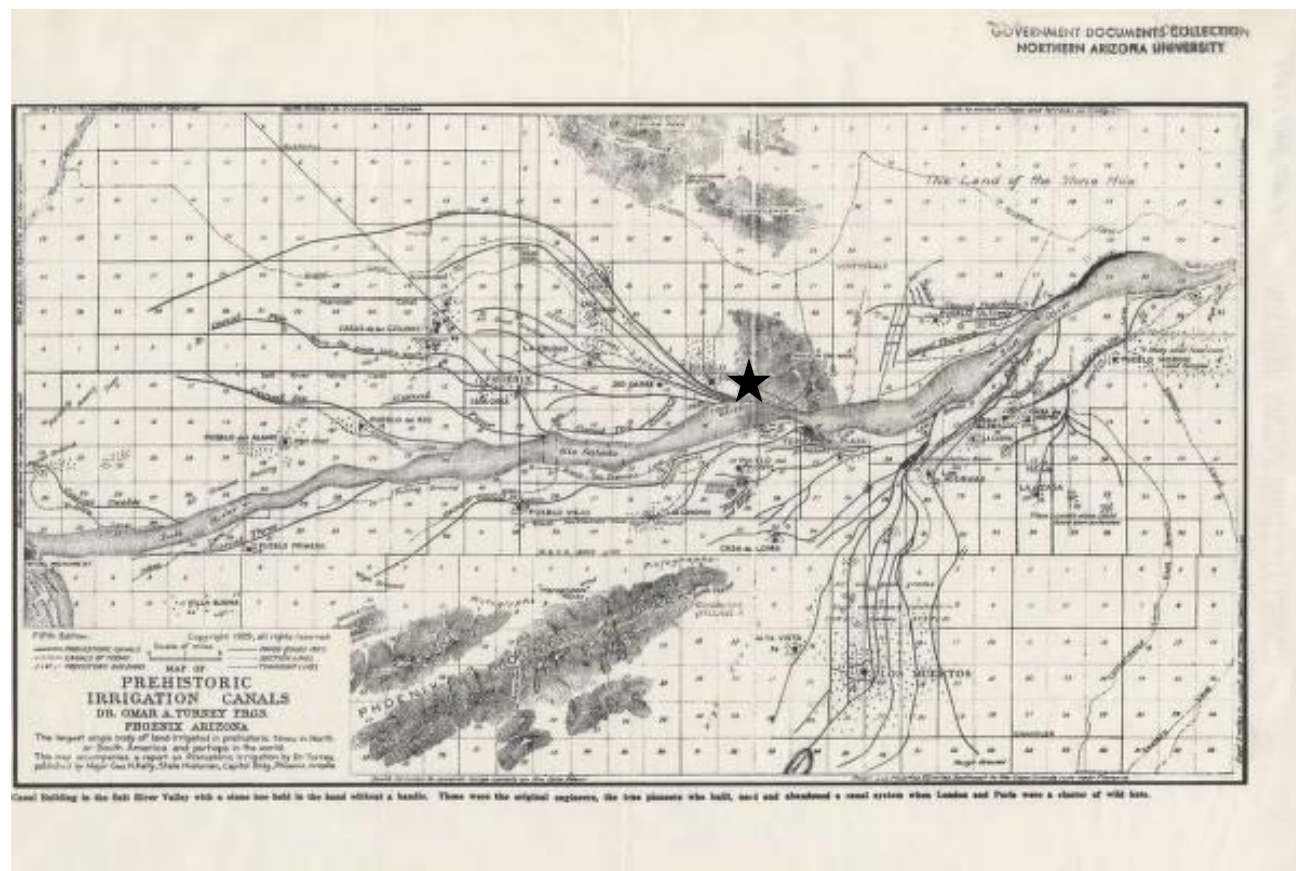


Figure 10: Map of Prehistoric Irrigation Canals by Omar Turney in 1929. The location of the Pueblo Grande ruin is indicated by the black star (Turney, 1929).

The Hohokam adapted to respond to the challenges and opportunities presented during the roughly fourteen centuries that they occupied the Gila and Salt River Valleys. From the beginning the Hohokam were characterized by their successful efforts at engineering irrigation systems that would allow them to thrive in a desert climate. The earliest Hohokam settlement found in the Phoenix metropolitan area, in Tempe, dates between 100 B.C. and 390 A.D. and contained both pit houses and a canal (Bostwick 2008: 10). In subsequent eras, Hohokam architecture and settlement patterns would vary as a result of conditions that are still not entirely

understood, and the dates for the different periods of Hohokam culture are necessarily somewhat vague. In the Colonial period (roughly 790-950 AD), villages increased in size, the canal network expanded, sometimes reaching miles from the source rivers, and the Hohokam began building large oval ball courts (Bostwick 2008: 9; Eighmy and McGuire 1989: 215). In the Sedentary period (950-1150 AD), the villages became larger still, and saw the emergence of central plazas and sometimes multiple ballcourts within the same settlement (Bostwick 2008: 9; Eighmy and McGuire 1989: 215). The subsequent Classic period (1150-1500 AD) saw a shift in Hohokam architecture, with a move away from pit houses and toward aboveground walled adobe compounds, coupled with the use of platform mounds on top of which important structures would be built (Bostwick 2008: 9; Eighmy and McGuire 1989: 216). By the end of the Classic phase, as the Hohokam population was in decline, the architecture returned to the pit-house shape known in earlier times (Bostwick 2008: 10; Hill et al. 2004). The irrigation system that this society left behind, however, would again play a major role in the development of a very different society on the same soil four hundred years later.

Although Hohokam society had ceased to exist by the end of the 15th Century, descendant communities were present in the Phoenix area at the time Anglo settlers arrived in the 1860s. The Pima in particular are generally recognized to be descendants of the Hohokam (Bahr et al. 1994: 9,10; Fish and Fish 1992). In the area surrounding the future site of Phoenix, the Gila River Reservation was established by the federal government in 1859, followed by the Salt River Reservation in 1879, to house the Pima and Maricopa tribes (VanderMeer 2010: 24).

Euro-American Settlement in Phoenix

The first Anglo settlers arrived in Arizona during the early 1860s, generally for the purpose of establishing mining operations (VanderMeer 2010: 14). These settlers were followed by the U.S. Army, which established Fort MacDowell in 1865 (VanderMeer 2010: 14). To help provision the Fort, the Army hired John Y.T. Smith to harvest wild hay from along the Salt River in 1866 (VanderMeer 2010: 14,15). Smith's employee Jack Swilling saw that Native Americans in the area were using limited irrigation techniques to grow their crops, and Swilling soon recognized the ruins of the Hohokam irrigation canals for what they were (Luckingham 1989: 13-15; VanderMeer 2010: 15). Swilling hired crews of unemployed miners to dig out several of the canals and recommence agricultural operations on the lands that the Hohokam had last cultivated over four centuries prior (Luckingham 1989: 13-15; VanderMeer 2010: 15). That the modern settlement was rising from the proverbial ashes of an earlier civilization to inhabit the same site and even use its irrigation infrastructure is widely recognized as being the reason behind the city's name of Phoenix (Mawn 1977).

The streets of Phoenix were platted in 1870, with the city's original downtown located on the area now circumscribed by Van Buren St. to the north, Harrison St. to the south, 7th St. to the east and 7th Ave. to the west (Luckingham 1989: 16). During the city's earliest years, most of the structures were made of adobe brick. By 1878, a modern brick factory was established in the city, and in 1879, the Southern and Pacific Railroad brought rail traffic to Tucson, close enough for lumber to be brought to Phoenix by wagon (Luckingham 1989: 21,22). By 1887, Phoenix had its own rail spur to connect it to the Southern and Pacific, which allowed its agricultural goods to be exported across the country, as well as improving access to other building materials and manufactured goods from the east and west coasts (VanderMeer 2010: 19). As a result of the newly available materials, adobe quickly lost favor as a building material for the city

(Luckingham 1989: 22). In the late 1880s, a series of fires led to a ban on wooden buildings in the downtown area, and in 1891 a flood washed away the few adobe buildings that remained standing (VanderMeer 2010: 25-27). Their replacements were generally made of brick, and their style reflected not the architecture of the southwest, but that of the east (VanderMeer 2010: 27).

While the architecture of late 19th Century Phoenix reflected the Anglo heritage of the city's elite, the growing city did have a significant minority population. The 1880 U.S. Census identified 486 Native Americans living in Maricopa County, 164 Chinese, and nine African Americans (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880). It counts 5,030 White residents in the county, meaning that just over 11% of the population of Maricopa County belonged to a minority group (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880). The city itself was as yet too small to be treated as a census unit in and of itself; the Census for that year only provided race data for cities with populations of over 4,000 people. In the late 19th Century, the city's Chinese population worked primarily as laborers, in groceries, laundries or restaurants (VanderMeer 2010: 24). The city's Chinatown was roughly bounded by Jackson, Jefferson, First and Third Streets (Luckingham 1989: 60). By 1900, Phoenix had become home to 4,163 residents, and the city's demographic makeup was changing as well (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1900). The 1900 Census also identifies 148 African Americans living in the city, and ninety three Chinese residents. There is no mention in the Census of the size of the Hispanic population in Maricopa County or Phoenix for either year, though it was obviously present. The 1900 Census identifies a foreign born population of 935. Excluding the Chinese immigrants, that would leave roughly 842 foreign born residents in Phoenix, and it seems likely that most of those would have come from Mexico. One estimate identified 1,100 Mexicans living in Phoenix by 1910 (Luckingham 1989: 60).

Modern improvements to the Hohokam irrigation system, combined with desert sun, fertile soil and the railroad had made Phoenix an oasis for industrial agriculture. The completion of the Roosevelt Dam in 1911 allowed still greater regulation of the flow of the Salt River, and furthered its use as the agricultural lifeblood of the expanding Phoenix region (Luckingham 1989: 43-47). By 1920, the city's population had exploded to 29,053 (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1921). As it grew, Phoenix acquired the trappings of a budding metropolitan city. In 1924, it purchased from the federal government the area that would become South Mountain Park (Bostwick and Krocek 2002: 14). The same year a private citizen purchased and then transferred to city ownership the Pueblo Grande Platform Mound (Wilcox 1993b: 86). In 1925, the city purchased the private streetcar company that had provided transportation for the city's residents since 1887 (Sanzone 2008). The trolleys had their best year in 1929, when they boasted 6.6 million passengers before being largely supplanted by the automobile (Luckingham 1989: 81; Sanzone 2008). The private Heard Museum also opened in 1929, and in 1935, the city purchased the Sky Harbor Airport, which had been operating as a private airport since 1928 (Luckingham 1989: 91,92; VanderMeer 2010: 44,45).

For all of the growth that occurred in the pre-war era, the city's busiest days were still ahead of it. Beginning in the late 1930s, Phoenix became home first to private, and then to federally-operated training facilities for pilots (Luckingham 1989: 136). With the onset of World War II, aviation became a major industry for the city, drawing pilots and soldiers by the tens of thousands and requiring the construction of new facilities and the upgrading of existing airports and other infrastructure. Some companies, such as Goodyear, which had been attracted to the city years earlier because of its ability to grow industrial quantities of agricultural commodities, expanded their presence in response to new government demands (VanderMeer 2010: 97,98).

Others, such as Alcoa and AIRsearch, brought new plants, new employees and new money to the city (Luckingham 1989: 140,141; VanderMeer 2010: 97,98).

While the war economy did not last, Phoenix's growth essentially continued unchecked for the rest of the 20th Century and into the 21st. Between 1950 and 2010, Phoenix moved from being the 99th most populous city in the United States to being the fifth most populous, with over 1.5 million residents (United States Census Bureau 1998; 2010). While growth has slowed in recent years, showing that the city is not immune to the economic forces that govern the rest of the country, Phoenix remains one of the United States' largest cities. Thanks to its past, much of which is only accessible through archaeology, it also remains one of its most historically complex.

The Archaeology of Phoenix and the Development of the Pueblo Grande Museum

The canals, dwellings, ballcourts and other sites associated with the Hohokam have drawn archaeologists to Phoenix for almost as long as there have been archaeologists. The City of Phoenix is situated roughly 50 miles northwest of Casa Grande, the adobe structure and archaeological site whose preservation served as a catalyst for the development of national historic preservation policy beginning in 1889 (Lee 2001). Casa Grande was documented by some of the 19th Century's most well known pioneer archaeologists, including Adolph Bandelier, who visited the site in the 1883, and Frank Hamilton Cushing of the Smithsonian's Bureau of Ethnology, who led the famous Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition in 1887 (Lee 2001; Wilcox 1993: 54-71). Perhaps not surprisingly given the close proximity of the nascent city of Phoenix to the Casa Grande site, the archaeological sites within Phoenix were also documented by these early archaeological pioneers. The Pueblo Grande platform mound

was extensively documented by both Bandelier and Cushing (Wilcox 1993). Those records provide some of the best remaining documentation of sites that were subsequently lost to agriculture and development (Downum and Bostwick 1993b; Wilcox 1993).⁴

Following the initial documentation of the site by two of the leading professionals of the late 19th Century, the next major milestone to have come about for the archaeological resources in Phoenix relates to the actions taken by local individuals to both excavate and protect the Pueblo Grade platform mound from further destruction. This followed a pattern seen in other locations across the United States (discussed in Chapter I), in which outside authorities played a role in documenting a site and introducing it to the scientific community while groups of local individuals, whose continued presence made them more able to function as caretakers and protectors, became involved with its day-to-day maintenance and protection. In 1901, the Arizona Antiquarian Association (AAA) briefly excavated at Pueblo Grande, and in the process garnered a bit of journalistic attention as the *Arizona Republican* described what the Antiquarian Association's president (and Phoenix resident), Dr. Joshua Miller, found during the dig (Downum and Bostwick 1993b; Wilcox, 1993b: 73,74). Another local individual who became involved with archaeology at the Pueblo Grande mound was the engineer for the City of Phoenix, Omar A. Turney, who had been a member of the Arizona Antiquarian Association. He

⁴ In 1993 the Pueblo Grande Museum began publication of the Pueblo Grande Museum Anthropological Papers. This series uses the archival material of the Museum and other sources, most of which had gone previously unpublished, to tell both the archaeological story of the Pueblo Grande site, and the story of the development of the Pueblo Grande Museum. *Archaeology of the Pueblo Grande Platform Mound and Surrounding Features, Volume 1: Introduction to the Archival Project and History of Archaeological Research* brought to light much of the type of archival data that had not yet been published in St. Augustine or Alexandria, and which formed a large part of Chapters 2 and 3. To avoid repeating words that have already been said, I suggest that the reader obtain a copy of this volume for a more detailed account of the founding of the Pueblo Grande Museum and the early years of the city's archaeology program. Several pieces cited in this chapter as written by David Wilcox, Todd Bostwick and Christian Downum are found in this publication.

had been involved with the archaeology of the Pueblo Grande site as early as the 1880s (Wilcox 1993b: 82,83). His most lasting contribution, however, would be as part of a group of archaeologically-minded Phoenix residents who led efforts to help protect the platform mound through municipal acquisition.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the area surrounding the Pueblo Grande site did not fare well. The re-establishment of a regional irrigation network was returning to agricultural production lands that had been fallow for four and a half centuries. The result was that archaeological sites throughout Phoenix were being lost to the plow, to cattle grazing, and to industrial development (Wilcox 1993b: 86). The increasingly obvious destruction of the area immediately surrounding the Pueblo Grande platform mound encouraged many in the Phoenix community to push for the protection of the site (Wilcox 1993b: 86,87). The initial effort to purchase the land for the newly established State of Arizona was undertaken by the AAA and state representative James R. Goodwin in 1915 (Wilcox 1993b: 86-88). This effort failed, as did another attempt by Col. James McClintock, also of Phoenix, and a former president of the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society (AAHS), to purchase and deed the land to the Department of the Interior in order to have it designated a national monument (Wilcox 1993: 89). It is worth noting, however, that the apparent reason for the site's failing to become a national monument was simply that the owner had raised the purchase price beyond what McClintock's group could pay, not that Department of the Interior thought the site to be insufficiently significant (Wilcox 1993b: 88,89). Ultimately Thomas Armstrong Jr., who had been the first president of the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society (AAHS), personally purchased the Pueblo Grande mound site in 1924 and presented it to the City of Phoenix at the planning commission meeting on January 14 of that year (Wilcox 1993b: 89). At the urging of

Omar Turney, the Planning Commission also acquired the Park of Four Waters, just south of the Pueblo Grande Mound five months later (Wilcox 1993b: 89).

Following the purchase of the Pueblo Grande site, Turney was able to secure funding for an archaeologist from the American Museum of Natural History, Erich Schmidt, to come and begin an excavation. Schmidt's work identified three types of pottery that could be attributed to different locations and time periods within the Gila River Valley (Schmidt 1927). Although Schmidt's work was significant for its archaeological value, his would not become the name most strongly associated with the Pueblo Grande site in its early years. That distinction would instead be claimed by Odd S. Halseth, the first archaeologist for the City of Phoenix, and the director of the Pueblo Grande Museum until his retirement in 1960 (Wilcox 1993c: 97).

In the mid-1920s, Odd Halseth had been a student of pioneering southwestern archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett while working as a museum assistant at the San Diego Museum of Man (Wilcox 1993c: 102). This experience and training helped to prepare him for the position that he would soon secure as director of the short lived Arizona Museum, in Phoenix. Between 1927 and 1929, Halseth played a significant role in developing a museum culture in Phoenix, and in the process made connections that would allow him to make archaeological knowledge accessible to the general public (Wilcox 1993c: 103). Although his tenure at the museum was short, Halseth clearly gained a great deal of practical experience while there. The Director's Annual Report from 1929 details the work of the museum in the previous year, and it shows an institution that was quite comfortable establishing partnerships with other organizations and institutions in the name of engaging the public (Halseth 1929). One of the most noteworthy events was the museum's effort, carried out in conjunction with the Mayor's

office, to recognize Oct. 20, 1928 as “Museum Day” (Halseth 1929). The resulting festivities were quite widely attended:

Scientists from Arizona and California attended our meetings and took part in an educational program arranged for the public. Trips were made to nearby archaeological sites and the day tended to give the public a better understanding of museum work, aside from giving a national recognition to our institution. Letters received from far and near testify to this fact (Halseth 1929).

Halseth brought a great deal of energy to this work, and within a relatively short period of time he was becoming increasingly visible among those who worked at the intersection of archaeology and the non-archaeological public. His work at the Arizona Museum allowed him to share his philosophies of how museums ought to be run, and how the public should be introduced to the material found in the museums.

In many respects, Halseth’s views of the relationship between a museum and the public were quite advanced, and would have still have been considered good practice had they been proposed by a museum director fifty years later. He recognized the practical need to proactively address the interests not just of adults, or those with money, but also the younger generation. In response to a request for managerial advice by the secretary of the Society of Fine Arts and History in Evansville, Indiana, Halseth told Secretary Howe that:

Education is the main excuse for a museum now-a-days and if people do not come to the museum, bring the museum to the people. Organize some small program to begin with, in the city and county schools. Study the text books and adapt the museum material to suit the curriculum. Use slides and photographs along with what material you have in the collections, and take it to the children. Then tell them about what you have in the museum and the teachers are always willing to bring the children there for suitable occasions. After a while this service will be felt and money will be easier to obtain through taxation (Halseth 1928).

This comfort with public engagement, and obvious awareness of the financial realities of his situation would serve Halseth well when working in the public realm.

By the middle of 1929, relations between what might be described as the more progressive wing of the Arizona Museum's board of directors and the not-so-progressive members had soured to the point that Halseth chose to leave his post as director (Wilcox 1993c: 107). Shortly thereafter, in June of 1929, another member of that "progressive" group, Maie Heard, would open a new major cultural force in the city and in the southwest, the Heard Museum, which would subsequently become one of the foremost museums of Native American art and culture in the United States (Heard Museum 2010).

Halseth's correspondence with a Ralph C. Smith of Washington, D.C. communicates something of the difference of opinion that existed between Halseth and certain members of the Board of Directors at the Arizona Museum (Halseth 1930a). He describes several museum trustees as suffering from "mausoleumitis," and complains that many on the board placed "social prestige before institutional service" (Halseth 1930a). Not dwelling too heavily on the past, Halseth explains how his resignation from the Museum's Directorship was not entirely a negative development, and shares a bit about how the closing of that door had led to the opening of another:

The mayor did not want me to leave the city, tho [sic] he understood well why I left the museum, so he appointed this commission, gave them an appropriation, and asked to go ahead with the excavations of the ruins owned by the city. So here I am at it (Halseth 1930a).

The "ruins owned by the city" of course, included the Pueblo Grande platform mound. As Wilcox has said, Halseth's control over the Pueblo Grande came at the expense of Omar Turney's involvement with the mound; Halseth and Turney had not enjoyed a particularly cordial working relationship while Turney was involved with the Arizona Museum, and Halseth's new control over the Pueblo Grande project was something of a slap in the face to a

person who had devoted years to its protection (Wilcox 1993c: 107,108). Henceforth, Pueblo Grande was under the authority of Odd Halseth.

A short piece in the *American Anthropologist* from early 1930 sheds a bit more light on the nature of Halseth's commission, its composition, and its work (Halseth 1930b). In an article summarizing the activities of different state and local archaeological activities, Halseth communicated that:

The city government has set aside an annual appropriation for the proper preservation and exploration of the ruins upon which the city is built, and appointed a committee of three citizens to take charge of developmental projects. The Committee, known as "The Archaeological Commission of the City of Phoenix" consists of Col. James H. McClintock, Postmaster and former State Historian, Chairman; Mr. Louis H. Chalmers, president of the Phoenix National Bank, Treasurer; and Mr. William G. Hartranft, chairman of the City Planning Commission, Secretary. Mr. Halseth is archaeologist in charge of the projects (Halseth, 1930, p. 346).

The formation of this commission marks the beginning of the City of Phoenix's employment of an archaeologist for the purpose of managing the city-owned archaeological resources. However, as noted by Wilcox, the funding for this position was spotty at best during the early years of the Depression (Wilcox 1993c: 110, 111). The city paid Halseth through the middle of February of 1930, and then, with a change in mayoral administrations, funding dried up (Wilcox 1993c: 110,111). Halseth kept Pueblo Grande active and in the public eye, and kept food on his own table by offering archaeology courses to guests staying at the newly constructed Biltmore Hotel in Phoenix, and by cobbling together various other odd jobs which allowed him to maintain a presence at the site (Wilcox 1993c: 110).

As indicated by Halseth's continued presentation of the Pueblo Grande mound to the city's visitors, people within the city were not altogether ignorant of the possibilities the site offered as a museum and tourist attraction. Col. McClintock (Chairman of the Archaeological

Commission) and Neil Judd of the Smithsonian in April of 1930 schemed various ways to improve funding for Pueblo Grande and to develop it further (Judd 1930). Judd tells McClintock that:

If there remains a lack of interest in local prehistory there certainly is no lack of business acumen among your fellow citizens. ...it is my personal conviction that \$10,000 a year devoted by your City Commissioners...to serious archaeological exploration at Pueblo Grande, to the erection of a small but comprehensible museum and to making your park of Four Waters more accessible... would be an investment that would soon bring an excellent return with interest (Judd 1930).

McClintock, for his part, was supportive of the idea, but responded that the sum of \$10,000 per year would "...throw the Commissioners into a cat fit" (McClintock 1930).

Undeterred, Halseth apparently requested precisely that amount from the city in May and did so by making an argument that would be familiar for subsequent generations of preservationists. In a short letter to Judd, Halseth described his plan to "use statistics, and nobody can refute them, to show that our work last season brought an actual return to the community of \$17,500. That is on an investment of \$1,500 from the city treasury" (Halseth 1930).

McClintock targeted his efforts in a slightly different direction, emphasizing to Mayor Lane the potential value of using the Pueblo Grande site as part of the Mayor's efforts to improve the city's parks and playgrounds (McClintock 1930b). McClintock made a prescient argument to the mayor about the potential value of the Pueblo Grande site both as a first-rate tourist attraction and as an amenity for local residents. "I would urge upon you appreciation of the fact that it would afford an advertising feature of tremendous value, one that would bring even thousands of strangers to Phoenix and that would afford 'some place to go' for the tourists, as well as the permanent residents" (McClintock 1930b). Unfortunately for both of these members of the Archaeological Commission, McClintock's initial assessment of the situation

would prove to be correct. Far from allocating anything near the proposed \$10,000, the city eliminated even the \$1,500 it had allocated for the management of Pueblo Grande in 1929(Wilcox 1993c:108). Phoenix would not appropriate another penny for Pueblo Grande until the fall of 1932 (Wilcox 1993c: 108-111).

In 1932, Fred Paddock, the mayor who had first employed Halseth as part of the Archaeological Commission of the City of Phoenix three years earlier, was re-elected (Wilcox 1993c: 111). With Paddock's return to office, and with Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs opening the federal funding pipeline, the Pueblo Grande site would soon enjoy both the stability in leadership and in funding necessary to develop into a true community asset (Wilcox, 1993c: 111). After his return to the city payroll, Halseth began to make Pueblo Grande "his own." David Wilcox later detailed the exceedingly creative procedures Halseth used to build the Pueblo Grande Museum structure between 1932 and 1935 almost entirely without funding from the city. Halseth used workers from a local settlement house to supply labor before depression-relief funds were available for such a purpose (Wilcox 1993c: 111,112). He used rocks unearthed during previous excavations and adobe found onsite to construct the museum building's foundation (Wilcox 1993c: 113). He made the 18 inch thick walls of adobe brick instead of concrete or wood, further reducing materials costs and allowing for a second story to later be added if desired (Wilcox 1993c: 113). He scavenged materials for the roof from discards of other city projects, and salvaged windows and other materials from the city's decommissioned streetcars (Wilcox 1993c: 111-113). Were a city building constructed today using salvaged and locally sourced materials, borrowing building techniques from indigenous cultures, using materials that used little petro-energy to produce and took advantage of thermal mass to keep cool, it would be hailed as a model of socially, culturally, fiscally and environmentally conscious

city policy. In the Depression era, however, it was just a great example of a committed city employee making do with the resources available (see Figure 22).



Figure 11: Completed Pueblo Grande Museum facility in 1939 (Wilcox, 1993c, p. 113).

By the end of 1935, Phoenix had a museum and laboratory facility at the site of the Pueblo Grande ruins. In the middle of the process of building the Pueblo Grande laboratory facility, Halseth's position and work was essentially moved under the city's new Parks Commission, establishing, with a nine year interruption between 1947 and 1956, the permanent administrative home for the Pueblo Grande Museum. The New Deal era brought a previously unknown level of archaeological investigation to the Pueblo Grande site, and to other sites throughout Phoenix and Maricopa County, as Public Works Administration (PWA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Works Progress Administration (WPA) labor became available for use by Halseth and other archaeological authorities (Bostwick 1993b: 194).

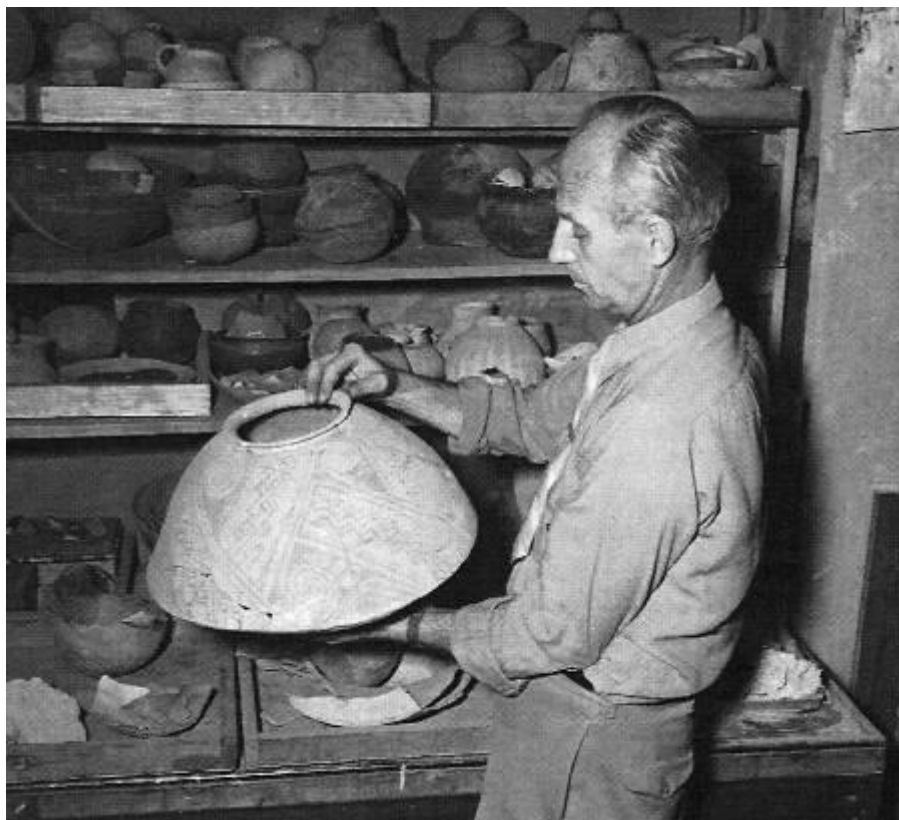


Figure 12: Odd Halseth at the Pueblo Grande Museum in 1950 (Wilcox, 1993c, p. 98).

In 1941, with the onset of America's involvement in World War II, Halseth closed the museum for the duration of the War and pointed his energies in a different direction, becoming deeply involved with the activities of municipal government, even serving for eight months as City Manager (Wilcox 1993c: 135). Following the end of the War, the Pueblo Grande Museum experienced two years of leadership by another archaeologist, Charles DiPeso, before Halseth returned to the helm in 1947 (see Figure 23) (Wilcox 1993c: 135,136). At that time, the Pueblo Grande Museum was receiving about 20,000 visitors per year, and the City of Phoenix was about to embark upon the population boom that would continue into the next century (Wilcox 1993c: 135).

The position of City Archaeologist would become a permanent fixture in Phoenix, as would the Pueblo Grande Museum. Halseth retired in 1960, handing over his responsibilities to Donald Hiser, who had worked under Halseth since 1953 (Bostwick 1993a: 225). For most of the ensuing years, the duties of the city archaeologist would remain very strongly associated with the direction and management of the Pueblo Grande Museum, no small task in the Post-War era.

If Halseth had been responsible for establishing the museum, Hiser should be given credit for bringing it into the modern era. By overseeing the site's successful nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as a National Historic Landmark in 1962, Hiser laid the groundwork for the protection of the Pueblo Grande platform mound and Museum under the terms of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and subsequent environmental legislation (Bostwick 1993a: 226). Hiser was also responsible for preparing the Pueblo Grande Master Plan in 1966, overseeing the acquisition of over 72 acres for the park, and creating a new modern structure to house the museum that would meet the needs of a city that had grown enormously in a very short period of time (Bostwick 1993a: 227-235). When Hiser retired in 1983, he had guided the museum through extremely challenging years which saw the construction of the Hohokam Expressway and the expansion of the Sky Harbor Airport, both of which could have caused immeasurable harm to the park had it not been protected by such a capable advocate (Bostwick 1993a: 236-241).

Following Donald Hiser's retirement in 1983, David Doyel became city archaeologist, and again, the individual in this position shepherded the museum through difficult times because of the expansion of the city's infrastructure. For Doyel, the expansion of the East Papago Freeway and the Hohokam Freeway was the source of the potential harm for the Park, and the solution that was reached did ultimately result in a loss of approximately 20 percent of the

eastern portion of the site (Bostwick 1993a: 247,248). The other major event to have taken place during Doyel's tenure as city archaeologist centered on the execution of the badly needed preservation program for the Pueblo Grande mound itself (Bostwick 1993a: 249). While a preservation plan had been developed in the early 1980s, it was not until 1988 when Phoenix residents passed a bond program that allocated funds for capital improvements to the museum facility and other projects that preparations for the actual preservation program could be started (Bostwick 1993a: 249). Working with the National Park Service, the Museum was able to begin the mound stabilization project in 1989 (Bostwick 1993a: 249). Interestingly, during the campaign for the bond program, strong support for the Museum's requested capital improvements came from a group of real estate developers who donated over \$150,000 to fund various improvements to the most visible part of the Park property (Bostwick 1993a: 249).

As a result of the increasingly complex responsibilities involved in running the Pueblo Grande Museum and carrying out the duties of the City archaeologist, David Doyel was the last individual to serve as both the City Archaeologist and the Director of the Pueblo Grande Museum. Instead, when Doyel retired in 1990, the position was split between Todd Bostwick, who assumed the responsibilities of City Archaeologist, and Roger Lidman, who became the Museum Director for Pueblo Grande (Bostwick 1993a: 249-251). This change was recommended by Lisa Ryan, the General Services Administrator for the Parks, Recreation and Library Department, who determined that the position had become too demanding for one person to administer its responsibilities effectively (Bostwick 1993a: 249-251).

Many factors must have led to this decision, but the continued rapid growth of the City of Phoenix government, the dramatic increase in development pressures facing the city, and the increasingly complex policy environment surrounding archaeology at the state and national

levels had to have been contributing reasons. Since this split, the City Archaeologist has been able to reach out beyond the Pueblo Grande site to influence the ways in which the city manages archaeological sites in other parts of Phoenix. This applies both to city projects and, under many circumstances, to projects taking place on private property as well. Focusing the city archaeologist's energies on the development review process has also helped to ensure that the concerns of Native American descendant communities are not left out of the development review process when those concerns relate to the disturbance of burial sites. The Pueblo Grande Museum, meanwhile, has continually developed new programs, content, and relationships within the community in order to further meet the demands of local and non-local archaeological enthusiasts. The Museum is now far from the only way local residents can experience the city's archaeology. It makes sense to consider this event, the separation of the City Archaeologist and the Museum Director positions, as the moment when the archaeology carried out by the City of Phoenix began to take its modern shape.

Archaeology and Public Outreach in Phoenix

The value of the public in promoting and sustaining archaeology in the city of Phoenix is not lost on the city's archaeology staff. Given its long history in the community, it is not a surprise that the activities of the Pueblo Grande Museum are at the heart of how most of the public engages with archaeology in Phoenix. The Museum is the most visible archaeologically oriented asset in the community, and as a result it plays a major role in how residents and visitors understand Phoenix as a whole. As a city park, the museum complex provides local residents and visitors with a chance to walk through and experience a prehistoric Native American community firsthand. It provides a central source for accessing scholarship about the site and the archaeology of the area, it is a meeting place for archaeologically-minded individuals, and it is a

gateway through which many local residents can begin to learn more about the Native American community that is still very much a part of modern Phoenix. Roger Lidman, the director of the Pueblo Grande Museum, introduces the public to archaeology not only through the museum exhibits and the preservation and presentation of the Pueblo Grande ruins, but also through activities carried out within the community in the Museum's name. Some groups, such as the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary, have a very visible presence and relationship with the Museum. Other groups may have relationships with the museum that are more or less visible, but the ultimate effect is that through the activities and relationships channeled through the Museum, a wide variety of people are exposed to and benefit from the city's chief archaeological asset.



Figure 13: Pueblo Grande Museum. Photo by Rebekah Brems, 2011.

<http://www.pueblogrande.org/>

Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary

Even as the relationship between the city archaeologist and the Pueblo Grande Museum was changing, both Kidman and Bostwick had a great deal of public support from a group known as the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary (PGMA). Since its formation under Donald

Hiser, the PGMA has provided a way for local residents to contribute their time and energy to the Museum, and to become more engaged with the activities of others with similar interests. The PGMA formally came into existence in 1977 with the election of officers after several years of sporadic meetings (Hammond 1982: 1). Even in its early years, the PGMA made major contributions toward the operation of the museum and toward the archaeology it sought to present to the public. The Pueblo Grande platform mound itself was visibly suffering from erosion in the late 1970s and early 1980s, aided by exposure to weather but also accelerated by visitor use and the constant vibrations from the Sky Harbor Airport (Bostwick 1993a: 246). The PGMA played a crucial role in raising funds to pay for the mound stabilization study. Through the proceeds garnered from the “Ethnic White Elephant Sale” in 1981 and other funds collected by members, the PGMA was able to present the City with \$7,650 to be paired with a federal matching grant, which covered the cost of the platform mound stabilization study which was subsequently carried out by the Wirth Associates (Bostwick 1993a: 245; Hammond 1982: 4).

The activities of the PGMA provide some of the most readily accessible routes through which members of the public can engage with the city’s archaeology. As is the case in Alexandria and St. Augustine, a core group of volunteers is essential to sustaining the city’s archaeology efforts. The PGMA’s constitution, first penned in 1981 when the organization incorporated as a non-profit entity, and subsequently revised in 1987, set forth its purpose as being:

...to bring together people with an interest in the conservation and preservation of prehistoric resources, specifically, the heritage of Arizona prehistory and that of the Salt River Valley; to assist Pueblo Grande Museum and staff in dispersing educational materials; to provide lecturers and tour guides; to assist in the preparation of exhibits, library cataloguing and management, collection management, curatorial and conservation techniques, records management and research; and to organize, publicize and promote activities, events and fund raising for the Pueblo Grande Museum (Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary 2009).

The PGMA has developed several strategies for achieving these stated goals. Again, like St. Augustine and Alexandria, one of the principal activities of the group is creating opportunities for the public to interact with local archaeologists and related experts in order to gain exposure to different aspects of the archaeology and culture of the region. Following a familiar pattern, monthly talks at the Museum are a core activity of the PGMA. At the Museum, the subjects of the PGMA's recent and planned talks have included: the archaeology of Paquime and the evolution of the modern Mata Ortiz pottery tradition, a presentation by two Arizona State University graduate students on their recent work, and a presentation on Mimbres artistry and society (Pueblo Grande Museum 2010a). Other regular activities of the PGMA include working as docents for the museum, leading tours and hikes, and operating the Museum gift shop (Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary 2009).

Among the most visible of the organization's efforts is the annual Pueblo Grande Indian Market. The Indian Market is a two day event at which Native American artists from throughout Arizona and the southwestern United States sell their artwork to the public (see Figure 25). In 2010, the Market featured roughly 200 artists (Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary 2010a). The organization of the PGMA Indian Market Committee is headed by the Indian Market Director, Isaac Curley, who works in cooperation with a committee of other PGMA members and an advisory group that includes members of several different Native American tribes (Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary 2010b). The Indian Market began in 1977, and even in its early years, it was very popular and brought attention to the city's prehistoric resources while Phoenix was in the middle of a development boom. According to the former president of the PGMA, writing in 1982, the Indian Market events that took place in this era allowed:

Nearly fifteen thousand people [to] attend... our six [years of] markets making it possible for more visitors to see the Museum than had before and to become acquainted with the prehistoric Hohokam. The markets have also helped to promote the individual Indian artists in the Valley and the Southwest and to educate people about their arts and crafts (Hammond 1982: 2).

The Indian Market is significant for many different reasons. In one respect, it is a major contributor to the operation the Pueblo Grande Museum and the activities of the city archaeologist. The funds raised by the PGMA at this and other events provide the city archaeologist with roughly \$4,500 each year to carry out various publications or other activities related to archaeology in the city, including education programs in Phoenix schools (Bostwick 2010; Curley 2010). The Indian Market brings tourists to the City of Phoenix from all over the region and the country, although total attendance today is somewhat lower than in the past (Curley 2010). This reflects the PGMA's efforts to make the event more family oriented rather than catering to art collectors (Curley 2010). The event still draws between 3,000 and 7,000 people over the course of its two days (Curley 2010).



Figure 14: Artisan at the 2010 Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary Indian Market (Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary, 2011)

And while the Indian Market is meant to be a fundraising event, the PGMA goes to great lengths to make sure that it does not become purely a commercial venture. As such, artists may not participate if they are not enrolled tribal members, and there are strict controls on the quality of the items being sold (Curley 2010). In a similar vein, the Indian Market provides an opportunity for members of the public to speak directly with the artist to learn about their process and their background. Describing the relationship between many visitors and the artists, Isaac Curley explains:

“One of the things that I like to think of is that the Indian Market provides an opportunity for the public to come and see... the art and talk to artists directly about their artwork. The public enjoys that immensely, being able to know the artist and about the background of their work and even about their biological history, because in Indian art, there [may be] several generations of artists...” (Curley 2010).

In some very tangible ways, the Indian Market helps people to draw connections between the Hohokam ruins found throughout the Salt River Valley and the living cultures present in the southwest today. Though the event had recently been held at a location away from the Museum, in 2010 it returned to the Pueblo Grande Museum site, where it originated in 1977 (Curley 2010; Hammond 1982). Holding the event at the museum site in the past has allowed the PGMA to introduce people, including Phoenix residents who have never before visited the Museum, to the Pueblo Grande platform mound and ball court, and other features of the site (Curley 2010). In addition to the ruins, Curley recalls that “about ten years ago we had...replica homes built, constructed, based on what knowledge there was about the Hohokam... The doorways were so low that you would have to crawl through them, get on your hands and knees to get through...” (Curley 2010).

Another noteworthy group that is run from the Pueblo Grande Museum but which is really a collection of individuals from a variety of different organizations is known as the Pueblo Grande Mudslingers. In the early 1990s, the National Park Service came to Pueblo Grande and assisted with the stabilization of the Platform Mound (Bostwick 1993a:249,250). Just after the NPS had finished its work on the site, disaster struck the mound. Jim Britton is an amateur archaeologist, a member of the Arizona Archaeological Society, of the Southwest Archaeology Team (SwAT) which is based in nearby Mesa at the Arizona Museum of Natural History, and for the purposes of this story, “mudslinger in chief” for the Pueblo Grande Mudslingers (Britton 2010). Britton describes the events taking place at the Pueblo Grande Mound during the early 1990s as follows:

They had a huge stabilization project there where the National Park Service came in ...88 or 89 and it went into 1991, and then that work was all done by the National Park Service crew out of Santa Fe. It was a huge project...million dollar project...then... the last three months of 1992 and the first three months of 1993 we had twenty eight inches of rain. That's like four years worth. And so it just ripped up what they did in certain areas, so they had to have their crew come back in 1993. And... the city's kind of freaking out now... 'we paid all this money now we're going to pay you a whole bunch more to do this.' So they had a workshop, the National Park Service did, and the museum staff and three of us from the Southwest Archaeology Team ...were invited to attend that workshop... So...sort of by default, I got to be coordinator of the project. ...But then it expanded, and it was becoming hard for SwAT, for me to get a crew to come down there and do mudslinging when they could go excavate somewhere else. So I opened it up to the Arizona Archaeological Society, which has a Phoenix Chapter that meets there at Pueblo Grande... So I opened it up to get more people involved. I don't consider it to be a SwAT project anymore, now we're the PGM Mudslingers (Britton 2010).

As the name suggests, the Pueblo Grande Mudslingers use the techniques taught by the National Park Service to stabilize the Pueblo Grande Mound. The Mudslingers use a mixture of soils with high clay content, caliche, and a polyvinyl acrylic polymer to create a protective coating around

the walls of the Pueblo Grande ruin to prevent their further destruction through erosion (Miller 2007). The group works closely with the city archaeologist and the museum director.

Arizona Archaeological Society

The Arizona Archaeological Society (AAS) is another organization that fosters interest in archaeology among the public, and the Phoenix chapter of the AAS has a long association with the Pueblo Grande Museum. Founded in 1964, the AAS is a unique organization in that it has adopted the training and certification of avocational archaeologists as one of its goals (Arizona Archaeological Society 2010a). It provides this training in order to have a core group of individuals available to serve as archaeological assistants for professional archaeologists when they are in need of additional workers in excavations. A sample of courses offered by the AAS include *Prehistory of the Southwest*, *Historical Archaeology I*, *Archaeological Mapping Techniques*, *Laboratory Techniques*, *Lithic Identification and Analysis*, *Pottery Techniques*, and many others (Arizona Archaeological Society 2010b). Unfortunately, there has been a decrease in the demand for trained volunteer archaeologists to actually work on excavations in the Phoenix area, following the rise of CRM archaeology. According to Al Arapad, who serves as the president of the Phoenix Chapter of the AAS:

it started out...thirty or so years ago as an organization that was more oriented towards volunteer work in archaeology and it has moved into less...as archaeology has become really professionalized and as they hire people to do the CRM type work, they really have not made a lot of use of volunteers...and so the opportunities are a lot slimmer... (Arapad 2010)

Instead, the organization has become something of an advocacy group with a wider reach than, for example, the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary, though both organizations hold their monthly meetings at the Pueblo Grande Museum. Like the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary,

AAS meetings have featured speakers, but because of the group's educational component the topics can be a bit more technical in nature. Recent speakers have shared the results of CRM work related to the city's light rail project, and to the monitoring work resulting from a nearly thousand mile long trench dug by AT&T for fiber-optic cable among others (Arizona Archaeological Society 2010c). Many in the group also participate in the SHPO's "Site Steward" program, which gives both the city archaeologist and the SHPO notification if a known site has been vandalized (Arapad 2010).

Archaeology Regulations and the City of Phoenix

Unlike Alexandria and St. Augustine, the city of Phoenix has never passed an ordinance created explicitly for the protection of privately owned archaeological resources in the development process. In some ways this makes Phoenix more typical of cities across the country struggling to determine how archaeology should enter the development context. Instead of being able to rely on an ordinance, the system Bostwick has pulled together over the years is based on a network of related federal, state and local legislation, to a certain degree on his own persuasiveness, and on his ability to maintain good working relationships with others involved in the development review process. The growth of this system can be attributed to the fact that, like Cressey in Alexandria, and Halbirt in St. Augustine, Bostwick has been present in the community for over twenty years, and during that time the archaeologist has had to develop new relationships, allies and communities of supporters in order to make sure that archaeology became and remained a priority for the city.

When Bostwick was charged with overseeing archaeology for the entire city of Phoenix in 1990, one of his principal tasks was developing a culture of respect for archaeological

resources among the employees of the city of Phoenix. In the early 1990s, other city departments didn't necessarily see archaeology as something that fit into their work, and it took Bostwick time to change their minds. His first step was to make the city compliant with existing federal legislation, so that when it undertook a project, it carried out the required archaeological investigation:

I spent probably five or six years just getting the city engaged in a review process and having them understand how they need to pay for the archeology. And then once that was well known and well established, then I expanded into the private segment. And then it was easy for me to say, 'Well, the city's been doing this for a long time now and it's time that you get on board so you're not an exception to this process' (Bostwick 2010).

Two key components of this transition were making City employees aware of their responsibilities under federal and state environmental and cultural resource protection legislation, and making it easier to integrate those regulations in the process used when carrying out their work. To that end, training sessions have become a regular part of Bostwick's work, and they remain a fundamental step in establishing a culture of archaeological protection among the more than 14,000 Phoenix employees (Bostwick 2010; Gordon 2010). Four times per year, Bostwick works with staff from the City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office and the Office of Environmental Planning in order to provide training for new city employees whose work could impact cultural or environmental resources (Bostwick 2010). According to Bostwick:

... anyone that's a foreman involved with maintenance or that develops projects or is involved in some capacity in management...gets training. And it's...a half-day training on...cultural resources and our compliance process. And so that way, nobody can say, "I didn't know," because in fact, they get the training. I lecture for at least an hour or so. Barbara's [Barbara Stocklin, Director of the Historic Preservation office] staff person, Liz Wilson, she lectures for an hour, and then Wendy Wonderly, our environmental person, she lectures. And so they get slides, they get project examples, they get the process, they learn who the people are who do the work (Bostwick 2010).

Bostwick estimates that between 1990 and 2009, he has presented more than 300 programs to city departments and other organizations to familiarize city employees and members of the public with archaeological regulations (Bostwick 2009: 3). The archaeologist and his colleagues also provide the same type of training, once each year, to private consulting firms who want to work for the city. This makes sure that the consultants are aware of who to call, and what procedures to follow when they are working on city projects or are working in the city's name (Bostwick 2010).

Even when other departments and employees are aware of their environmental and cultural resource protection obligations, those review processes still need to be integrated into the standard operating procedures that those departments follow. In 1994, the city's Neighborhood Services Division (NSD) had run afoul of federal environmental and cultural resource compliance requirements made necessary by their use of funds originating from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (Bostwick 2009: 10). In addition to problems with environmental compliance, because of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, any time NSD built a project using HUD funds, the Division was supposed to evaluate the potential for the project to impact significant historic or archaeological resources (Bostwick 2009: 10,11). In order to make this process easier in the future, Bostwick worked with NSD and HUD to develop an archaeological review process that allowed NSD staff to use a two sided checklist to determine the appropriate course of action with regard to archaeological review (Bostwick 2009: 10). Bostwick estimates that between 2000 and 2009, more than 125 NSD projects have required archaeological monitoring or excavations (Bostwick 2009: 11).

In addition, all Phase I Environmental Site Assessments carried out by or for the city's Engineering and Architectural Services Department are required to consult with the city

archaeologist to identify the possible presence of archaeologically significant material. An example of this type of work, and the type of review that it generates from archaeology, might be found in the Environmental Site Assessment carried out by the URS Corporation as consultants for the city's purchase of 2333 acres of land for its Sonoran Preserve Land Acquisition Project in 2006 (URS Corporation 2006: 1). In order to satisfy the due diligence made necessary by the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA), the city hired URS to review the previous land uses and possible environmental contamination present on site (URS Corporation 2006: 1). Required as part of that statement was a review of the archaeological potential of the site. In the assessment, Bostwick stated that the area was archaeologically sensitive (URS Corporation, 2006, p. 17). Also included in the report were the City Archaeologist's recommendations that: 1) the entire area be surveyed, that 2) proposed areas of ground disturbance be subject to monitoring and/or testing prior to disturbance, and that 3) archaeological data recovery carried out if that need was indicated by the monitoring and testing (URS Corporation 2006: 17).

Within Phoenix, virtually all ground disturbing activities carried out on City property, or by City departments require some level of archaeological review. The *City of Phoenix Archaeology Guidelines* remind departments that archaeological review really is absolute (Bostwick 2006: 11). Any project on City land that disturbs the ground surface more than two inches in depth and over two square feet is required to undergo archaeological review (Bostwick, 2006: 11). The guidelines specifically identify all City buildings, water and sewer lines, streets, parks as being covered by this requirement (Bostwick 2006: 11). As part of the project review process, city departments must submit the *City of Phoenix Archaeology Assessment Form*, which identifies the department leading the project, the project leader, the project's location, agencies

involved in permitting or funding, expected nature of ground disturbance, land ownership and so on (Bostwick 2006: 44). This information is reviewed by the archaeologist, and an *Archaeology Assessment Result* form is returned to the applicant indicating if further review or action is required, and if so, the form it is to take (Bostwick 2006: 12). If further archaeological investigation is required, the agency's applicant is responsible for making sure that the archaeology is carried out in agreement with the archaeologist's proscribed plan, and for making sure that the final report is completed and meets the formatting and content requirements of the city archaeologist (Bostwick 2006: 12). Artifacts recovered from City owned land are submitted to Pueblo Grande Museum staff to be curated (Bostwick 2006: 12).

Local Archaeology Regulations Affecting Private Development

While these policies guiding projects on City land provide much needed protection on public sites, the same policies do not generally apply for private property. Most sites, including Hohokam sites that do not contain burials, or historical archaeological sites, such as the evidence of Phoenix's original downtown, have to be protected by policies and practices established at the local level. As has already been mentioned, the City does not have an archaeology ordinance. Instead, archaeological review is typically included in the city's larger development review process, during which various city departments evaluate a proposal and give those recommendations to the city's planning staff prior to any required public hearings or meetings. This process allows the archaeologist to weigh-in on all commercial developments, and on developments that require rezoning. By recognizing that the opinion of the city archaeologist is essential to eliminating archaeologically-oriented uncertainties from the development review process, and by requiring his approval, the city essentially established archaeological review as a matter of policy, rather than of law.

The City's Historic Preservation Ordinance is designed primarily to protect above-ground structures and sites, and although its language is supportive of the idea of protecting archaeological resources, its usefulness is limited by the vagaries of its language (Bostwick 2009: 5). Chapter 8 of the city's Zoning Ordinance creates the Historic Preservation Ordinance of the City of Phoenix, declaring that it is a "matter of public policy that the protection, enhancement and preservation of properties and areas of historical, cultural, archaeological and aesthetic significance are in the interests of the health, prosperity and welfare of the people of the City of Phoenix." Section 802, paragraph B of the Phoenix Zoning Ordinance declares that it is also the purpose of the ordinance:

- a. To encourage identification of the location of both pre-historic and historic archaeological resources.
- b. To assist with the preservation of these resources, within developments where appropriate, and with recovery of the resources where applicable.
- c. To encourage recognition of the fact that archaeological resources found on public land are the property of all citizens, and are not private property. Archaeological resources found on City-owned lands are the property of the City.

While these are certainly worthwhile goals for encouraging archaeology within the city, this text is riddled with legal "weasel words" that make the ordinance almost impossible to employ for archaeological protection. The language is more typical of what one would find in a comprehensive plan, not a law that is meant to be enforceable. The one exception is the final sentence, which makes a declarative statement confirming the ownership status of resources found on city land. Otherwise, there is no mention made to specify how these resources are to be preserved, and on which lands these actions are supposed to take place. Had the language allowing for the creation of historic districts been paralleled by another section permitting the creation of archaeological preservation districts, for example, this ordinance would be more

effective and much more innovative. Or if it had replaced “assist with the preservation” with “cause the preservation of” or provided a definition of “where appropriate” or “where applicable.” The flaws of this ordinance are readily acknowledged by the city archaeologist, and its weaknesses played a major role in his decision to emphasize the role of the city’s General Plan in promoting archaeological protection (Bostwick 2010). In 1990, Bostwick pushed for revising the ordinance to fix some of these problems, but ultimately the preservation commission decided not to pursue the changes for fear that opening the ordinance for discussion would provide an opening for forces opposing preservation in the city to weaken the ordinance in new ways (Bostwick 2009: 5).

Despite its flaws, the city’s preservation ordinance is important because of its role in promoting a culture of preservation within the city. By protecting the city’s historic buildings and sites, it helps to maintain a visual reminder of the past in a city that is prone to thinking about the present. It is also necessary for maintaining the city’s status as a Certified Local Government (CLG). By virtue of having a historic preservation ordinance and a preservation commission, maintaining an up-to-date list of historic resources and by making efforts to engage the public with its historic resources, the CLG program helps to emphasize the importance of preservation in the city, and it also makes the City eligible to receive grant money through the SHPO (Bostwick 2010).

In Phoenix, the integration of archaeology with the development review process has developed over the course of many years, but the authority of the City Archaeologist to influence what takes place on a site before construction can begin is significantly greater today than it was in the early 1990s. Bostwick describes the current situation as follows:

When I started, there [were] no private archeology requirements for private property -- or private developments, I should say. And now there's a very

comprehensive set of requirements for commercial development, all of which have to be viewed and approved by my office or they don't get their construction permit, or they don't get their zoning change (Bostwick 2010).

The process that allows Phoenix to require this level of archaeological review for commercial projects or for rezone requests is rooted in a combination of policy stated in the city's General Plan, in the development review process mandated by the city's zoning ordinance, and, no doubt, in the awareness on the part of other departments involved in the development review process of the intricate nature of the legal framework that protects Phoenix's archaeological resources.

The potential for the city's Master Plan to be used for the protection of archaeological resources became clear to Bostwick following the earlier unsuccessful effort to strengthen the city's Historic Preservation Ordinance to better articulate the mechanism by which archaeological resources would be protected (Bostwick 2010):

...I recognized then that I had to go to other avenues. Fortunately ...one... came up that was very effective. ...there's a law called the Growing Smarter Law in the state of Arizona. It requires that cities have updated general plans. And before I started this job, I didn't even know what a general plan was. But now that I'm a bureaucrat, and understand government, general plans are very powerful tools. Because they basically set the justification -- well, first of all, it sets the values that the city considers very important, and then it sets the processes in which those values are going to be manifested and reinforced... (Bostwick 2010).

In this, Bostwick basically discovered the operational truth about comprehensive plans: by themselves they don't carry the force of law, but they do provide justification for enacting policies that support the visions, aspirations and goals that are identified in their pages. The first goal identified in the *Conservation, Rehabilitation and Redevelopment* element of the city's 2001 General Plan develops the vision of Phoenix as a city that preserves its history, culture and character. There are five policies recommended to implement this vision, and one of those policies is to: "Preserve archaeological resources found at development sites of public and

private projects.” The first “Recommendation” for how to implement that policy states that the city should “Investigate and establish policies and procedures to identify and appropriately treat, prior to development, archaeological resources that might be disturbed.” This is precisely what the city did by bringing archaeology into the fold of the development review process. No law explicitly states that all commercial projects and rezoning requests must be subjected to review by the city archaeologist prior to receiving a building permit. The Development Review Process described by Section 507 of the city’s Zoning Ordinance does, however, state that the Development Services Department staff will route the application documents to various departments and agencies for comments where needed, and it also gives the Development Services Department the authority to impose conditions on the application in order to promote the public welfare, safety and health. Given the level of expertise required to navigate what must appear to non-archaeologists as a maze of overlapping local, state, and federal archaeological regulations, agreements, standards and obligations under various programs, the political environment surrounding relationships with the area’s Native American tribes, not to mention the probable inability of Development Services staff to speak authoritatively on the archaeological value of every part of the city, not treating the opinion of the city archaeologist as worthy of receiving “comments as needed” would be an act of phenomenally poor judgment.

Bostwick describes this review process as follows:

...first of all, we have a pre-screening process. So I created a GIS layer for the planners. And they...put the location of the applicant's parcel into their GIS system and they see if it hits one of the zones that identified. And if it hits a zone, then that's when they have to call me and then we do a more detailed review. Because we want to know more than they've looked at our project initiation sheetthe way I write the stipulation is going to be determined on the extent of development. Is it covering the whole parcel, or part of the parcel? Is it going shallow or deep, or is part of it shallow, part of it deep?

So with all that information, then we write our stipulation. And basically it's the scope of work that's required. And then once they receive that scope of

work, they still don't have my approval. What that does is let them know that they have archeology obligations and they need to hire an archeological contractor to do the work. And so then the contractor would call me to get clarifications or more information on the scope of work, because they're usually pretty general scope of works, because I really do expect the contractor to come up with a plan on how to implement the scope of work.

And then, once they do that, before I will actually sign off on the project so it can continue on with further review, I require that I see a contract with the contractor so they know that, indeed, they've actually hired somebody. And then that way I know archeology's going to get done because there's a contract. And then I'll sign off (Bostwick 2010).

This is followed by the production of a report by the archaeologists hired by the developer. The report uses a standard format and includes the same type of content for each project (Bostwick 2006: 21-28). As a result of the development of this system, Phoenix is now able save a significant amount of data from archaeological sites that would have been destroyed just a few years ago. Though it is important to remember that this is a system that has been built over time. In the early 1990s, Bostwick had to scrape together funds and convince people that archaeology needed to be carried out as part of the project, even on major projects taking place in downtown Phoenix.

The Phoenix Chinatown project is one example of the early efforts to promote archaeology in the city. When the N.B.A's Phoenix Suns were building the America West Arena over top of what had once been Phoenix's Chinatown, Bostwick had to not only convince the team's owner to agree to allow archaeology, but he also had to go to the community to raise the funds to carry out the archaeology (Bostwick 2009: 6). Bostwick, former Suns player Alvin Adams, and a group of community members were able to raise funds for the project from a wide variety of sources (Bostwick 2009,: 6). The project received a grant from the SHPO, and subsequently an award, and demonstrated how well archaeology could blend with the development process. The archaeology resulted in a technical report on the site but it also

created a traveling archaeology exhibit that toured local schools and libraries, and another exhibit that was a prominent feature of the Arena itself for 16 years (Bostwick 2009: 7). While highly visible projects like this, where the archaeology is essentially taking place in front of the bulldozer, can often be angst-ridden, panic-inducing experiences for the communities in which they take place, they can also help to galvanize support for archaeology, and forge the bonds that allow similar projects to be carried out in the future.

The reluctance of Jerry Colangelo, the owner of the Suns, to pay for archaeology was typical of the view that many developers have had over the years, and it is significant that the city is now able to require developers to fund the archaeology that is required on their sites. Bostwick explains that while there is always an element who will grumble, and grumble loudly, about having to pay for archaeology, there is a growing contingent of developers who “just understand it's a cost of business and they're very polite about it and there's no arguments and they just want to know what the process is and what the costs are going to be” (Bostwick 2010). He also sees a growing trend among younger developers to be more interested in the history of the site, and in the possibilities of incorporating some of that history into their developments (Bostwick 2010).

The city and its archaeologist should be commended for what they have accomplished, but like its kindred cities of Alexandria and St. Augustine, the system in place is still far from perfect. It is entirely possible that an individual building a private residence on a parcel zoned for residential construction, even if the construction site were sitting on top of a Hohokam kiva, would not necessarily be required to perform archaeology. Even on larger projects where construction crews are bound by discovery clauses to notify the city archaeologist of any unexpected finds, compliance can be exceedingly difficult to monitor (Bostwick 2010).

Although holes exist through which archaeological knowledge may slip, Phoenix is “light years ahead” of most of the country in terms of its recognition of the value of offering protection to its archaeological resources. Whenever a project requires a rezoning, or requires a city utility or right of way permit, archaeological review is a required part of the development process (Bostwick 2006:. 11).

Archaeology in Phoenix and Native American Burial Sites

Some of the regulations that protect archaeological resources in Phoenix are the result of federal legislation, such as NHPA mentioned above, and other forms of protection stem from local policies such as those outlined for private property. The State is also an important source of archaeological protection legislation, and this is particularly true of Arizona. In 1990, the Arizona State Legislature passed a series of amendments to the Arizona Antiquities Act that established procedures to be followed when human remains were discovered on both state and private land (Arizona State Museum 2010). Article 4 of the Arizona Revised Statutes is titled “Archaeological Discoveries,” and A.R.S. 41-841 through 41- 845 describes the conditions, policies and procedures to be followed in the event that human burials are encountered on land owned by the state or, by extension, local government. In Article 4.2, A.R.S. 41-865 describes the minimum procedures to be followed for burials encountered on land that is privately owned.

Although the protection offered for remains encountered on public lands or in public projects is significantly stronger in terms of the delay permitted for consultation and in terms of the actions required before the remains can be disturbed, in both cases the ultimate goal of the law is to ensure that the human remains and associated funerary objects are treated with the

appropriate levels of respect.⁵ A.R.S. 41-844 creates what amounts to a state-mandated requirement for a culturally sensitive form of archaeology to be carried out in conjunction with Native American tribes in city projects. This by itself is a major accomplishment, but the law is also significant for the way in which it has been implemented and woven into the city's archaeology regulations. A.R.S. 41-844 requires that:

A person in charge of any survey, excavation, construction or other like activity on any lands owned or controlled by this state, by any public agency or institution of the state, or by any county or municipal corporation within the state shall report promptly to the director of the Arizona state museum the existence of any archaeological, paleontological or historical site or object that is at least fifty years old and that is discovered in the course of such survey, excavation, construction or other like activity and, in consultation with the director, shall immediately take all reasonable steps to secure and maintain its preservation.

Upon determination that the site contains a Native American burial, one of the required “reasonable steps” that must follow is the notification of affiliated Native American tribes and the organization of a meeting with representatives of those tribes as well as representatives from the State Museum, university scholars (Arizona Revised Statutes 41-844). Those present at this meeting are then tasked with discussing “the most appropriate disposition of the discovered materials” (Arizona Revised Statutes 41-844). Another noteworthy feature of this regulation is that, should the group of interested parties not be able to agree on the appropriate course of action within the required six months, the remains are disposed of in accordance with the wishes of the nearest blood relative, and barring that, with the wishes of the representative of the group

⁵ The organization Indian Burial and Sacred Grounds Watch maintains a list of state legislation related to American Indian burial grounds in the United States. Though their list is admittedly a bit dated, a review of the legislation compiled on their website shows twenty five states as providing Native American tribes or representatives some kind of voice in identifying the appropriate course of action when previously unidentified burial sites are inadvertently discovered through construction or other means (Indian Burial and Sacred Grounds Watch, 2003).

with cultural or religious affinity. The “default” position is to return the remains to the Native American community, not, for example, to a museum or a university.

In Phoenix, the general agreement that stemmed from this regulation adopted a somewhat more proactive approach than that which was required by law. Rather than waiting for city projects to uncover burial sites, in 1994 the city archaeologist worked with the Director of the Arizona State Museum and the Native American tribes with affinal ties to the Hohokam to draft a General Burial Agreement that would trigger notification and review when it was “believed likely” that the project would uncover human remains (Bostwick 2006: 17). This meant that the city archaeologist was basically in a position to decide when he thought it was likely that work could disturb Native American remains. Given the importance that the city, and the city archaeologist, place on their relationship with the area’s Native American tribes, it behooves the city archaeologist to err on the side of caution when making this determination. It has also provided yet another reason for the city and private developers to route their projects through the city archaeologist.

The General Burial Agreement serves as a guide for ensuring that all involved parties are informed and involved in cases where the city discovers human burial sites (Bostwick, 2009, p. 9). Notification begins with the Coordinator for Burials of the Arizona State Museum, and then proceeds to the relevant Native American tribes. After the tribes have been notified, and the city has received corresponding notification from the tribes that the existing burial agreement is adequate, or that a site-specific burial agreement must be developed, the burial site is treated according to the agreed upon procedures (Bostwick, 2006: 17,18).

The agreement stresses that the burial sites should be left undisturbed if possible, but if the destruction of the site is unavoidable, representatives of the tribes have the opportunity to be present at every step of the excavation and analysis of human remains and associated grave goods. Representatives of the tribes may be present prior to and during the excavation of the remains, and may examine the remains and conduct any traditional activities that they feel are necessary, if this can be done without causing delay that would endanger the remains. (Bostwick: 2006: 19). Under the terms of the agreement, the remains and grave goods may be excavated and brought to an archaeology lab for identification and cataloging, but the remains may not be photographed or transported out of the state of Arizona under any circumstances, the tribes are to receive copies of all publications arising from the study of the remains, and the remains are to be repatriated to the tribes within an agreed upon period of time (Bostwick 2006: 19).

The Native American tribes living in and around the Phoenix area command a great deal of respect within the community, and the relationship with the local tribes is clearly one that the City values and wants to keep as strong as possible. For example, Bostwick describes the efforts of the city to meet the tribes' stipulation that images of human remains not be taken and reproduced in the media:

We're not allowed to do any stories on human remains, which is good . . . it's just showing respect to the Native American organizations that would like that to be done discretely and without any public fanfare . . . I've worked with our public information office in the city and we've . . . issued a set of restrictions to the media so they know they can't do stories on burials and they can't take photographs or any video. It's just out of the question (Bostwick 2010).

In a sense, the state's requirements for the respectful treatment of Native American Burial sites, and the agreement that the city, the Arizona State Museum Director and the Native

American tribes in the area have developed in order to implement those regulations, represent one of the strongest tools Phoenix has for inserting archaeology into the development process.

While there are limits to the amount of time private landowners are required to give the Director and the Tribes to develop a burial agreement and remove the remains from the site (A.R.S.41-865 theoretically provides ten days for the development of an agreement and excavation of sites on private land, though even this can be waived in order to “permit the continuation of work on a construction project or similar project”) private developers are still obligated by the state law to report the presence of newly discovered burial sites to the City (Arizona Revised Statutes 41-865). In Phoenix, developers may be required to use the General Burial Agreement as a condition of receiving their permits through the Planning Department and Developmental Services Department (Bostwick 2006: 16).

The Native American Community and the Pueblo Grande Museum

The Native American communities present in Phoenix play a major role in determining how archaeology takes place within the city, not only with respect to the protection of burial sites, but also in determining how archaeology is presented through the Pueblo Grande Museum. Given that the museum presents information about the Hohokam, a Native American society with which the modern Pima tribe claims cultural affinity, there is an obvious need for the involvement of members of the Native American community who can provide guidance to the museum as it seeks to present information to the public in an informed and appropriate manner. Because of the geographic division of the Phoenix area established by the Native American communities present in the Salt River valley, the Museum has most regular contact with the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community. Roger Lidman describes the relationship between the Museum and the Native American community as follows:

We do have an American Indian advisory council that we call together occasionally. We had done it regularly for a long time, but then we've almost developed a programmatic approach to working with them that if there are questions or issues we can just go to them. They're as busy as we are... We are on a first name basis, we work very closely with them. ...particularly with the cultural preservation office at the Salt River Pima Maricopa Indian Community. Some of the members from... that section in their community serve on our auxiliary board. Actually currently our president of our museum auxiliary [the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary] is a member of that museum, the Huhugam Ki Museum at the Salt River Indian Community (Lidman 2010).

The Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary Exhibits Committee also relies on the input from its Native American members and other contacts from the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Community and the Gila River Indian Community (which is also Pima and Maricopa) when developing exhibits, to make sure that the displays are appropriate for the material (Dobbins 2010). The city also has a "percent for art" program, which allows one percent of total project costs for infrastructure projects to be reserved for public art (Lidman 2010). Pueblo Grande will be receiving roughly one million dollars through this program in the coming year, and there will be a representative from the Salt River Pima-Maricopa community on the percent for art committee that determines how that money will be used at the Park (Lidman 2010).

Conclusion

Phoenix's lack of an ordinance specifically requiring archaeological excavation or preservation prior to development only makes the accomplishments of the city's archaeologist, museum director and archaeology supporters that much more impressive. It uses a different approach than Alexandria or St. Augustine, but it shows that there are alternative strategies for inserting archaeology into the development process besides using an ordinance. By using a variety of novel techniques at the local level, combined with an aggressive application of state and federal

regulations, the city has managed to assemble a development review process that, while it still contains its flaws, is remarkably effective at protecting the city's archaeological sites. The state regulations protecting Native American burial sites in the city have to be seen as the backbone of the city's archaeological review process. Without it, there would be much less motivation for the government to pay such close attention to archaeology on its own projects, let alone potentially requiring that level of scrutiny for commercial development or projects requiring a rezone. The successful administration of the state's regulations, and the positive relationship that the city has developed with the Native American tribes living in the Phoenix area, bear testament to some of the public benefits that can come about as a result of a conscientiously administered archaeology program. The high levels of public involvement with the activities of the Pueblo Grande Museum also demonstrate that for as much energy as is put into running an amenity of this type, the benefit for the community is multiplied many times over.

CHAPTER V:

COMPARING ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROTECTION REGULATIONS IN ALEXANDRIA, ST. AUGUSTINE AND PHOENIX

Each of the three cities discussed in the previous chapters has made it a matter of policy that archaeological review should be a part of the land development process. Within the three cities, there are similarities and many differences in how archaeology enters the sphere of development review, reflecting the generally shared goals of the programs but also the different local circumstances that led to the creation of regulations in each city. As such, it makes sense to compare and contrast these regulations from at least two perspectives. One approach is to explore how archaeology is treated in each city's comprehensive plan. The comprehensive plan, or general plan, or master plan, is the policy document that, at least in theory, guides the actions of city officials as they seek to encourage organized growth and development for their community. As it turns out, each of the cities treats the subject of archaeology very differently. While the comprehensive plan identifies desired city policy, the second perspective from which to view these archaeology programs is that of the regulations themselves. What do the permitting and development review processes look like in these three cities that have made archaeological protection a priority? What burden, if any, do they place on the developer?

These are very uncommon regulations and given the wide range of benefits that they provide their respective cities, it is worth better understanding how these three marquis programs go about their daily business. Because these programs were developed largely independently of one another, it is perhaps not surprising that their approaches to integrating archaeology with the planning and development process vary so widely. An exploration of their relative success in

pulling off this integration might help guide the actions of other communities considering how they, too, might incorporate archaeological protection into their own development review processes.

Archaeology in the Comprehensive Plan

Although the significance of the comprehensive plan may not be immediately apparent to those unfamiliar with the land development sphere, when a community's goals, objectives and strategies are written into its comprehensive plan, those policies can subsequently be used to make or break multi-million dollar projects, to provide justification for decades of public expenditures, and to facilitate efforts to steer the community's growth in a way that best suits the interests of those writing or interpreting the plan. The comprehensive plan does not carry the force of law – it is simply an expression of desired city policy – but land development frequently requires the action of public officials, and the comprehensive plan provides guidance for the individuals responsible for making those decisions. Compliance with the stated goals of the comprehensive plan is often used as a rationale for changing the zoning of a property to allow for more or less intensive uses, and it can also lead to new zoning-based regulations, such as historic preservation districts, or other types of overlay districts. The goals, objectives and strategies of the comprehensive plan can also provide justification for the enactment of jurisdiction-wide policies that are independent of zoning regulations, such as transportation investments, or for the adoption of policies at the department level, such as establishing or changing development review procedures.

St. Augustine

As discussed in Chapter III, St. Augustine first extensively treated archaeology in its 1986 Comprehensive Plan, which laid the groundwork for establishing an archaeological protection ordinance. The Historic Preservation element of the 1986 Comprehensive Plan provided a history of the archaeological excavations previously carried out in the city, introduced what would become the ordinance's archaeological zones based on the type of material likely to be found in those sections of town, and laid out the preservation of archaeological resources as the plan's historic preservation Goal no. 2 (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986: 35-64). The plan identified five objectives in order to meet that goal of preserving archaeological resources, one of which was the creation of an archaeological protection ordinance. Other objectives included: 1) the identification of appropriate funding sources for archaeology, 2) exploring the possibility of contracting with the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board or another agency to assist the city in its archaeological protection efforts, 3) completing a survey and evaluation of archaeological resources within the city, and 4) the nomination of significant archaeological sites to the National Register of Historic Places (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986: 64).

Identifying the protection of archaeological resources as a goal, and identifying the five components of the approach that the city should take, did not create the archaeology program. The language simply declared that the city wanted such a program to be created. The city followed its stated aspirations with action, however. It developed an archaeological protection ordinance and inserted the ordinance into the City Code, which does carry the force of law and which is the actual legal mechanism that dictates land development procedures.

Over time, successive comprehensive plans continued to consider the treatment of the city's archaeological resources, but by the time the current plan was prepared in 1999, archaeological protection was treated more as a *fait accompli* than as a problem in need of solving. Goal 2 of the current Historic Preservation element is now "Continue to identify and preserve archaeological resources" (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1999).⁶ Goal 2 does still have several policies attached to it, one of which is to "continue to enforce the city's archaeological program contained in Chapter 6 of the City Code" (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1999). This is where the city's archaeological protection ordinance is found. The other archaeological policies relate to the city's continued operation of curation facilities for the archaeology program, and the continued nomination of archaeological sites to the National Register (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1999).

St. Augustine has by far the most extensive treatment of archaeology found in any of the comprehensive plans written for the three cities being discussed. Although it receives less attention than it first did in 1986, this is most likely because the policies first suggested in the 1986 plan have since been enacted; goals that were once aspirational in nature are now part of the city's legally mandated development review process. Ideally, this is how planners like to see comprehensive plans used – an idea expressed in the plan is then translated into reality through land use regulations. It is not, however, always the case, and many factors may dictate whether this format is followed, or whether it is even necessary.

Alexandria

⁶ Interestingly, the plan also says that the "measurable target" for this goal is the number of archaeological investigations carried out as a result of the city's archaeology program (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1999). At least in theory, it would be an unsuccessful year in which no archaeological resources were disturbed through development.

Alexandria follows an unusual comprehensive planning format. The city's 1974 Master Plan began the practice of dividing the plan into two types of content: 1) "Element Chapters" contain topics of city-wide import, including the overall Goals and Objectives section of the Master Plan, and chapters for historic preservation, open space, bicycle/pedestrian facilities, and several others, and 2) "Small Area Plans" that provide an opportunity for closer study of specific areas of the city (City of Alexandria 1992a). The Goals and Objectives chapter of the Master Plan includes sections for Land Use, Housing, Transportation, Community Facilities, Economics and Finance, and Urban Design, but nothing related to historic preservation or archaeology. The Small Area Plans (SAPs) divide the city into sixteen neighborhoods, and those areas are essentially given their own mini comprehensive plans, which typically include the types of goals and objectives that are unique to the area under study. Like the Goals and Objectives section of the Master Plan, however, the small area plans reflect an intense focus on "traditional" planning issues, such as land use, urban design, and transportation routes, and do not include significant mention of preservation goals, let alone archaeological goals, even within the most historic "small area" of Old Town Alexandria, which contains the third oldest historic district in the United States (City of Alexandria 1992b).

In contrast to St. Augustine, the comprehensive planning environment in Alexandria seems to avoid any mention of the city's archaeological resources. The lone exception is the city's Historic Preservation element, and even that doesn't mention archaeology as a unique goal (City of Alexandria 1992c). Instead, the preservation element includes as appendices the archaeological resource areas list and map, and the list of recorded archaeological sites within the city (City of Alexandria 1992c).

The Historic Preservation element of the Master Plan includes its own Small Area Plans for preservation throughout the city, and although archaeology was not mentioned as a higher-level goal within the element, its presence does become slightly more visible in these Historic Preservation Small Area Plans (City of Alexandria 1992c). Because so much of the city is covered by the eleven archaeological resource areas, the small area plans identify which resource areas are found within the small areas. Still, the Historic Preservation element treats archaeology as if it were something taking place outside of the city's preservation efforts, and as if it were not as a tool for developing greater knowledge about the city's historic sites. The net effect of this treatment is that there is no single land use planning document that identifies the city's hopes for how archaeological information should re-enter the thinking of municipal agencies and be treated either in the city's Small Area Plans or on a citywide scale. To the extent that it is featured in the city's forward looking planning documents, archaeology is at best treated as an add-on.

It is within this policy environment that the Alexandria Archaeological Commission carries out some of its most important work. As an advisory body to the city council, the AAC prepares its own Strategic Plan, which identifies the efforts that the AAC will undertake in order to promote the interests of archaeology within the activities of the city government. The current AAC Strategic Plan was written to cover the period between 2007 and 2015, and it responds in part to the City Council's Strategic Plan for the period 2004-2015 (Alexandria Archaeological Commission 2007). The City Council's Strategic Plan differs from the City's Master Plan, which is primarily a land use planning document. The Strategic Plan is a more general policy document relating to the operation of the city government.

While the City's planning documents are surprising for their minimal ties to Alexandria's archaeology program, the AAC's Strategic Plan is noteworthy for exactly the opposite reason.

Several of the AAC's strategic goals sound as if they could be the missing archaeology goals from the Historic Preservation element, in that they are explicit expressions of how archaeology should be incorporated into the land use planning process (Alexandria Archaeological Commission 2007). In the AAC Strategic Plan, along with pledging to make history, preservation and archaeology integral elements of the city's new Waterfront Plan, and agreeing to actively sponsor and support all aspects of the Freedmen's Cemetery Park Project, the AAC members agree to:

Actively promote and participate in the planning of all Small Area Plans, Parks, and Open Spaces within the City. Ensure adequate study of sites and excavation of potentially significant archaeological finds within these spaces. Advocate development and placement of interpretive signs relating to history and archaeology throughout the City. (Reference City Goals 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5)

- a. Engage the Yates Garden Community and the National Park Service in the planning and rehabilitation of Jones Point Park. Monitor development and placement of interpretive signs.
- b. Continue to provide representation at Potomac Yard Park planning meetings. Promote development and placement of interpretive signs.
- c. Comment on the City's Coordinated Wayfinding Sign Program. Monitor Heritage Trail signs within this process.
- d. Monitor Braddock Metro development.
- e. Advocate placement of Alexandria Heritage Trail directional signs.
- f. Develop and ensure distribution of Alexandria Archaeology Digital Atlas (Alexandria Archaeological Commission 2007).

If the authors of the city's planning and historic preservation documents may have neglected to include archaeology in the documents they produce, the city's archaeology enthusiasts certainly have made an effort to become engaged with the planning process. These goals reflect a keen awareness of the need for archaeology to be paired with planning if it is to be

appreciated by the city's residents and visitors. They also reflect an awareness of the fact that raising the overall profile of archaeology within the community requires a mix of low profile, ongoing activities, such as monitoring developments and attending planning meetings, as well as the more visible activities, such as developing interpretive signage. And the AAC has not idly identified these goals, as the organization's recent contributions to the city's Waterfront planning process make that clear. Surprisingly, during the recent efforts to develop a new Small Area Plan for the city's waterfront area, City staff and the planning consultants chose not to write a historic preservation element for the newly developed plan. Instead, the members of the AAC, working on their own time and with their own awareness of both the waterfront's history and planning procedures, developed the Alexandria Waterfront History Plan and submitted it to City Council to inform the waterfront planning process (Alexandria Archaeological Commission 2010). As a result of their work, both in the preparation of the Waterfront History Plan and in the political lobbying for its incorporation into the Waterfront SAP, planning staff made several significant changes to the document. The May 3, 2011 draft of the Waterfront SAP incorporates many of the ideas and suggestions made by the AAC, including the strengthening of the city's commitment for a history/ culture "anchor" facility on the south side of the waterfront, and it also includes the Waterfront History Plan in its entirety as an appendix (Hamer 2011). The Waterfront SAP is still being prepared, but when ready it will certainly draw greater attention to the need for protecting and promoting the city's historical and archaeological resources than it would have without the actions of the AAC.

Phoenix

In contrast to the situation in Alexandria, the archaeologist for the City of Phoenix has used the comprehensive plan as a vehicle for emphasizing the importance of archaeology in the

absence of an ordinance specifically designed to protect archaeological resources. The relatively brief, but significant, mention made of archaeology in the city's General Plan is found within its Conservation, Rehabilitation and Redevelopment element. Goal 1 of this element is titled: "Historic, Cultural and Character Preservation: Our Rich Heritage Should Be Preserved and Protected" (City of Phoenix 2002: 245). The text of the goal explains just what this means, tying historic preservation to community pride, and maintaining a "sense of place" in a city known for its modernity and for welcoming citizens transplanted from elsewhere. Following the explanation of the goal are five "policies" (City of Phoenix 2002: 245). Each policy is followed by several "recommendations" which are the specific actions that the plan recommends taking in order to realize the identified policies.

Archaeology first surfaces as "Policy 4," which declares that "Development should be compatible with architectural, archaeological and historic resources and their setting" (City of Phoenix 2002: 248). Three recommendations follow this policy. The first is that Phoenix should develop neighborhood guides and other publications to educate the public and members of the development community about the city's historic resources (City of Phoenix 2002: 248). The second is to work with other agencies to identify regulations and incentive mechanisms to encourage compatible development, and the third recommendation is to investigate regulatory and incentive mechanisms to identify, assess and preserve archaeological and historic resources in both public and private projects (City of Phoenix 2002: 248).

Archaeology is then addressed as a unique topic in "Policy 5," which declares it to be the City's desire to "Preserve archaeological resources found at development sites of public and private projects" (City of Phoenix 2002: 248). In order to implement this policy, the plan makes two recommendations. The first is to "Investigate and establish policies and procedures to

identify and appropriately treat, prior to development, archaeological resources that might be disturbed. Take into account related cost and time to developments” (City of Phoenix 2002: 248). The second recommendation is to “Pursue funding sources for investigating archaeological sites and preserving archaeological resources” (City of Phoenix 2002: 248). The first recommendation for Policy 5 is at the heart of the development review procedure that the city currently uses to protect its archaeological resources.

Although Phoenix has not developed a blanket ordinance that requires archaeological investigation of private projects in the manner of Alexandria or St. Augustine, the city’s comprehensive plan seems to open the door for that possibility. The third recommendation in Policy 4 and the first recommendation in Policy 5 lay the groundwork for developing a more detailed and more powerful archaeological protection ordinance in the future. And because the City’s current development review process provides for project review by the City Archaeologist despite the lack of an ordinance, having archaeology identified as a community goal in the city’s comprehensive plan may even help to provide some support for the review process should the city’s archaeological review policies be challenged in court.

Thus, the three cities demonstrate three different relationships between their comprehensive plans and archaeological protection regulations. St. Augustine is the only city that followed the planner’s preferred order of operations in that it identified the community’s need for increased archaeological protection in the comprehensive plan, and subsequently developed the regulations to make that community goal a reality. In Alexandria, the city as a whole has never used the comprehensive planning process to explicitly identify archaeological protection as a community goal, despite the fact that it very clearly values archaeology. It may not have put archaeology in the comprehensive plan, but the community does care enough about

it to have: 1) created a permanent advisory commission for city officials and created an ordinance protecting archaeological resources, 2) developed a museum for archaeology, and 3) kept several archaeologists on city staff for over thirty years. In Phoenix, the desire to protect archaeological resources on public and private land is identified in the comprehensive plan, and it has been integrated into the development review process based on the needs of other departments, but the city has not yet passed an ordinance giving archaeology the legal strength that would allow it to stand on its own two feet.

Development Regulations

Although comprehensive plans and the policies that implement them provide insight into the value that communities place on archaeological resources, the actual legal requirements of the zoning ordinance and the permitting process form the bedrock of the relationship between archaeology the development process. The ability of these three cities to successfully integrate archaeology into their development process is a major accomplishment. In St. Augustine, Chapter 6 of the City's *Code of Ordinances* is titled "Archaeological Preservation," and it contains all of the City's archaeology regulations. Chapter 11 of the City of Alexandria's Zoning Ordinance is titled "Development Approvals and Procedures" and within that chapter, Section 11-411 is titled "Archaeological Protection." As indicated above, Phoenix does not have a stand-alone archaeology ordinance, but it does have a mechanism by which archaeology is incorporated into the development review process for rezoning requests and other projects that require city permits. A comparison of these regulations and processes could be of significant value to other cities considering some type of regulations to protect their own archaeological resources.

One feature common to all three cities is that predictive maps are incorporated into their review processes, and are used to determine the extent of the archaeological review that a project will be required to undertake. The maps were created using archaeological, historical and other information to determine which areas of the city are likely to contain significant archaeological material that could be impacted by new development. In St. Augustine, the maps were developed as a result of the augur survey carried out by Dr. Kathleen Deagan in 1977, and by the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board between 1978 and 1981 (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986:. 37; Deagan 1981). This work allowed the authors of the preservation element of the city's 1986 comprehensive plan to determine which areas of the city were likely to be the most archaeologically sensitive, and those areas were identified accordingly.

The map and zones used today are essentially the same as those used in 1986. Chapter 6-4 of the City's Code of Ordinances describes Zone I as being the most archaeologically significant. This land contains sites that date from the 16th to the 20th Centuries, and include the city's Spanish and English histories, Indian missions, important pre-historic sites, and Fort Mose. Zone II includes several Indian missions, plantation sites, prehistoric sites, and other sites generally dating to the 18th and 19th Centuries. Zone III includes late 19th Century sites and less significant prehistoric and historic sites. The map of the City's archaeological zones is included below as Figure 26.

Alexandria used a similar process of historical and archaeological research in order to identify possible areas of archaeological significance within the city. The function of the Archaeological Resource Areas is described in section 11-411 of the city's Zoning Ordinance. Alexandria has identified eleven Resource Areas, and while they do cover roughly two thirds of the city, the archaeologists did not simply declare the city to be one giant resource area or

declare all land to be equally likely to contain sensitive material (see Figure 27). Like St. Augustine, the resource areas were defined by the events that occurred there, and the description of the Resource Areas explains what makes each area significant in the city's history, showcasing the depth of the knowledge that has been accumulated through the years (Alexandria Archaeology Museum, 2010).

Alexandria's approach to identifying its resource areas differs from that used by St. Augustine, however, in that no one area is identified as being any more "significant" than another. All of the zones are given the same level of importance by the ordinance, and therefore the review procedure mandated for one zone is the same as is mandated in any other. This probably reflects the research design that has guided the city since Pam Cressey arrived in 1977 – that all of the information found in the different resource areas can contribute to knowledge about the different groups of people who have inhabited the city through the years, and therefore it is all worth equal attention.

The mechanics of the review process used in Phoenix differ slightly in that while it uses a predictive map to help identify possible archaeological sites likely to be impacted by development, the map is not made readily available for use by non-archaeologists (Bostwick 2009: 19).

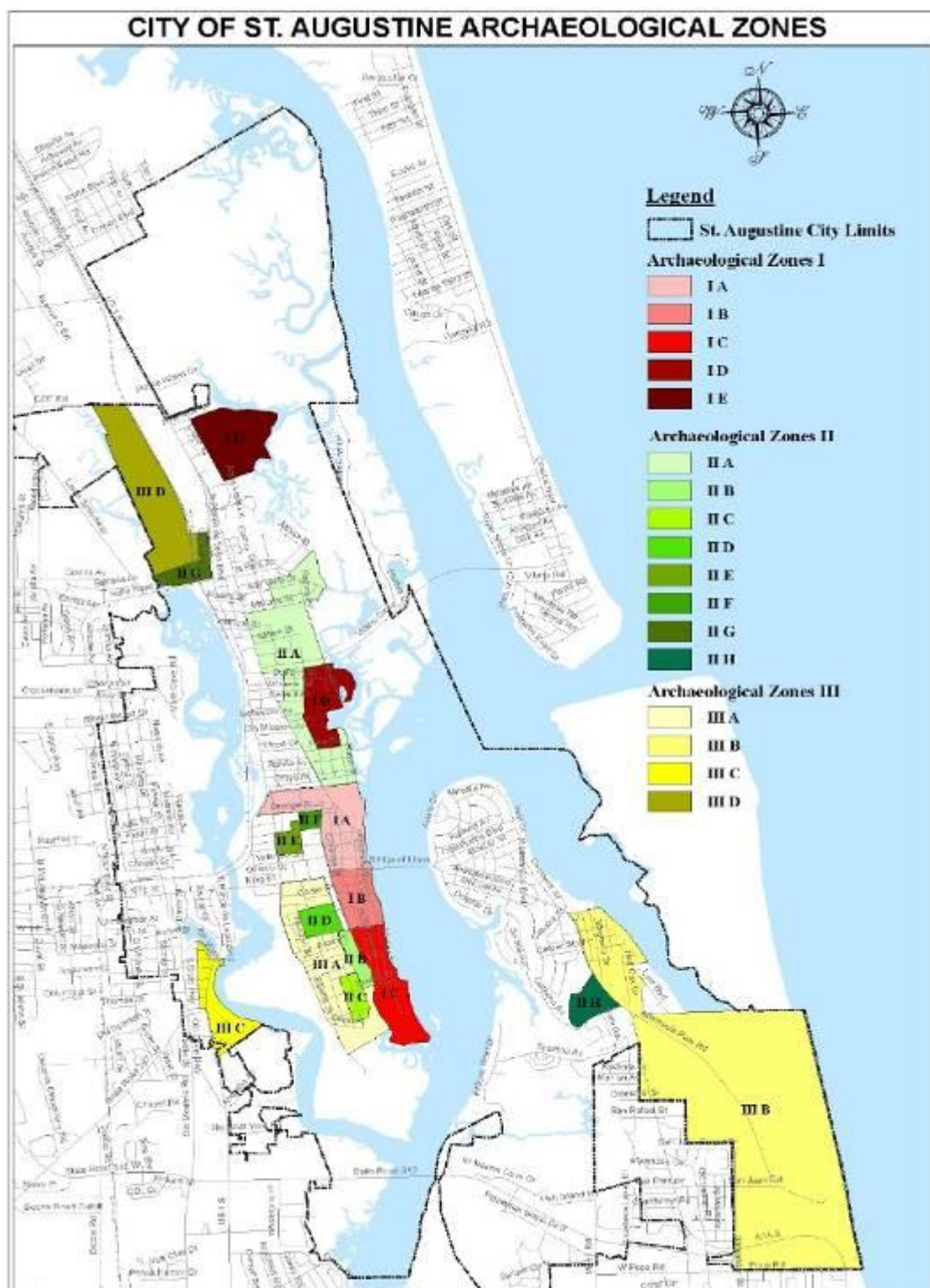


Figure 15: Archaeological Zones in St. Augustine. (City of St. Augustine, 2011)

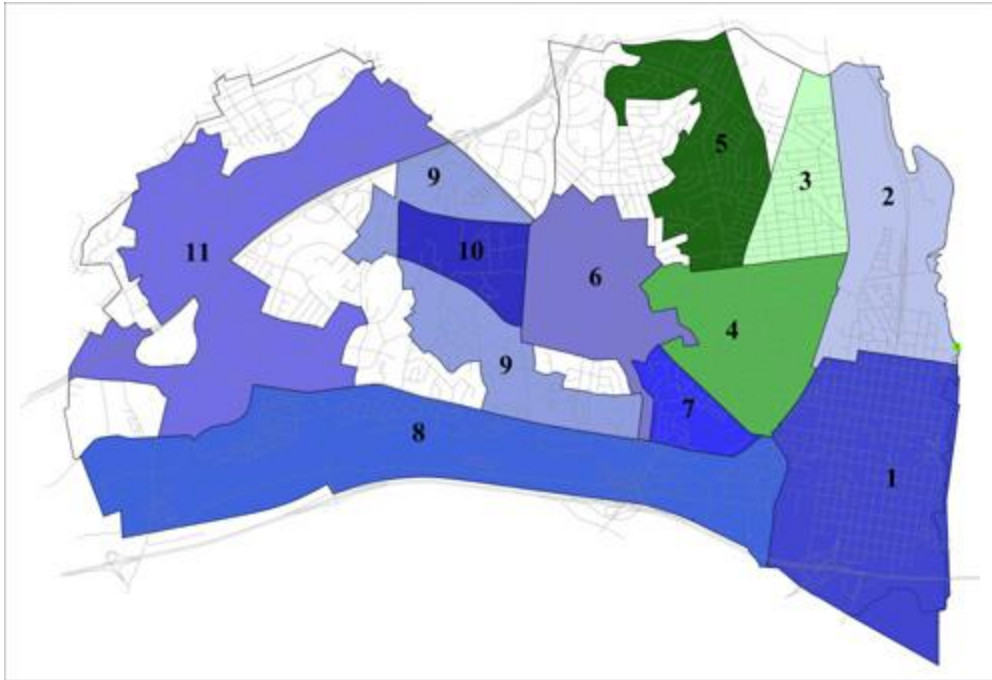


Figure 16: Map of Archaeological Resource Areas in the city of Alexandria. (Alexandria Archaeology Museum 2010).

Instead, during a project's pre-screening at the City of Phoenix Planning Department, city staff can identify whether a site shows up on a GIS layer prepared by the City Archaeologist (Bostwick 2010). If so, the developer is then sent to discuss the project with the archaeologist. Although much of the information depicted on the map could be gathered through documentary research at the Pueblo Grande Museum, not making the map itself available to the public may help to provide some measure of security to known burial locations or other sensitive sites that could be easily vandalized or violated if their locations became widely known. This principle of restricting knowledge of the exact location of culturally sensitive Native American archaeological sites is well established in Arizona and in many other states as well, where databases such as the AZSITE system restrict access to information about sensitive sites (AZSITE Mapping 2011).

The predictive maps are important for many reasons, but one of the most basic is that they demonstrate that the city did its due diligence prior to requiring developers to pay for or submit to archaeological review. The cities require archaeology to be carried out only in those areas where they believe archaeological resources are present and could be impacted by the development process. Because the preservation of historic resources has been found by all three states to be beneficial to the general health, safety and welfare, limiting review to those areas with historic resources more firmly roots these local archaeological protection regulations in the state's historic preservation and land use law. Had the cities required blanket archaeological review of development everywhere in the city, regardless of whether they were believed to contain archaeological sites, it would be much easier for opponents to attack such regulations as being arbitrary in nature.

In one sense, the fact that all three cities have identified areas in which the potential for impacting archaeological resources should be evaluated speaks to a very rational desire to protect those resources as completely as possible. In another sense, however, deciding which types of development should be reviewed for archaeology and which should not requires taking a step away from what might be seen as rational to a preservationist or an archaeologist and taking one towards something more closely resembling political pragmatism. Each city uses a different standard to determine what type of project will trigger archaeological review, and those standards are very much the product of local conditions. Like most local government programs, city archaeology programs exist first and foremost as political creatures and they must be able to maintain the support of a broad constituency if they are to survive. Requiring archaeological review of every hole dug within a city would be both a political and a logistical nightmare for a city's archaeologist. It would quickly earn the ire of every developer, homeowner and gardener

within the city, and it would almost certainly bust the budget of any but the most improbably well-funded programs. As such, some type of compromise must be made to balance the ideal of recovering all of the archaeological information contained beneath the city's surface with the reality of political interests, limited funding, developers' timetables, and the goodwill of property owners must be made.

Of the three cities discussed here, St. Augustine's ordinance is probably the most demanding in terms of what types of projects trigger archaeological review. Section 6-6 of the city's archaeology ordinance declares that within the boundaries of the archaeological zones, any proposed minor disturbance triggers some level of review by the city archaeologist. In essence, Section 6-3 of the ordinance defines a "minor disturbance" as any ground disturbing activity that takes place on non-single-family residential property, is greater than 3 inches in depth and covers between 100 and 250 square feet of surface area (City of St. Augustine 1992). For residential properties, a minor disturbance is any activity that disturbs soil more than three inches in depth and covers more than 100 square feet of surface area (City of St. Augustine 1992). A "major disturbance" as defined by the ordinance is one that is more than three inches in depth and is greater than 250 square feet in area (City of St. Augustine 1992).

In St. Augustine, therefore, it doesn't matter whether ground is being disturbed for public projects, for commercial projects, or for private swimming pools, houses or garages; if the project disturbs more than 100 square feet of surface at more than three inches in depth, the project will require review. There are, however, differences in the level of review required in the different zones, so the term "archaeological review" may mean different things in different situations.

While St. Augustine's review is carried out regardless of whether the project in question is commercial or residential, and is, for all intents and purposes, based on the size and location of the hole in the ground that the project will create, the other two cities take a different approach. The political realities of Alexandria reflect the fact that it is a larger city in a major metropolitan area undergoing near constant development. This has resulted in the creation of a different mechanism for triggering archaeological review. Section 11-404 of the city's Zoning Ordinance requires site plans to be prepared and approved for all new development except for projects that construct fewer than three residential dwelling units or, under certain circumstances, for buildings that contain less than 3000 total square feet of floor space. As they are written, the site plan requirements allow an individual constructing a single family house or a duplex to carry out his or her project without being subjected to the costs and procedural hurdles of site plan review, but larger projects, such as new residential subdivisions or the overwhelming majority of new commercial construction, do face those requirements. In section 11-411 of the city's Zoning Ordinance, the city's archaeological protection code makes clear that its regulations only apply to those projects required to prepare a site plan as part of their development approval process. As such, the regulations do not impact the person building a single house, or installing a swimming pool, as is the case in St. Augustine. Instead, the archaeology regulations fit neatly into an existing development review framework that is chiefly designed for professional developers, requiring such projects to obtain a preliminary archaeological review as part of the procedure leading to preliminary site plan approval, just as if he or she were being required to obtain zoning approval or to prepare sufficient copies of the proposed site plan for review.

Incorporating archaeology into the package of requirements for site plan review garners at least one major political benefit for the city's archaeologists, which has no doubt helped to

sustain the program's success over the years. Limiting the archaeology requirements to those projects with site plans makes sure that very few individual voters within the city will ever have to pay out of pocket for archaeological review. Although there may be a handful of developers who live in the city and regularly carry out projects within the city limits, and there may be local business owners who choose to build their own new buildings or other facilities that exceed 3,000 square feet, this is unlikely to be a very large group. Because archaeological review is not required for any private residential activities, most people in the city will only experience archaeology as an amenity – through the city's parks, museums and archaeology events. As a contrast, in St. Augustine, the costs of archaeology are made quite evident to the city's residents because their regular domestic activities, such as building a garage, require the homeowner/voter to pay a fee out of pocket for the archaeology.

In Phoenix, the question of who is required to engage in archaeological review has to be approached from a different angle, in part because of the absence of an ordinance that requires archaeology to take place on private land. Instead, archaeology has to take what may be thought of as a “back-door” approach, as it is a required part of the development process at the insistence of the planners responsible for development review, or when projects fall under the purview of the city's historic preservation officer. Because the politics surrounding some of the city's archaeology can be so complex, particularly when projects take place in areas suspected to be Native American burial sites, in many situations the officials responsible for development review can't effectively do their jobs without including input from the city archaeologist. The archaeologist is, for example, the only member of city staff qualified to say whether or not a project is likely to encounter Native American remains. As such, when a project requires that the city approve a rezoning request for a construction project, approve a commercial construction

permit, or approve a right-of-way permit to access a city street, the archaeologist's approval is required, along with the signatures of other City departments, in order to receive planning department approval (Bostwick 2006: 11; Bostwick 2010). A similar situation occurs when a project is proposed in those areas of the city identified as historic districts. According to section 812 of the city's Zoning Ordinance, within historic districts, no city permit may be given to build on an archaeological site without the certificate of no effect or a certificate of appropriateness, which are generally granted by the city's Historic Preservation Officer. This provides an opportunity for the city archaeologist to become involved with the project. As is the case for rezoning requests, it is not the size of the project that necessitates archaeological review in Phoenix, but the circumstances surrounding the project.

Development Review Procedures

For a developer whose primary concern is getting the project to the point where construction can be completed and a certificate of occupancy can be issued by the city, probably the most important question related to local archaeology regulations simply has to do with the procedural requirements that must be completed before construction can proceed. Once again, there are both similarities and differences in what the cities require of the developer prior to the conclusion of the archaeology phase of the project.

In all three cities, some type of administrative review for archaeology takes place very early in the development review process, ensuring that developers know from the beginning of their review process whether or not they will be required to include archaeological investigation as part of their project. Section 6-6 of the City Code of St. Augustine describes this process as follows:

Within Archaeological Zones I, II or III, any proposed major or minor disturbance which requires a building permit, a city utility permit or a city right-of-way permit shall be subject to a review of the proposed disturbance, before such disturbance takes place, by the city based on an application form (archaeological review application) to be prescribed by the city manager. No building, right-of-way or utility permit will be issued by the city until the archaeology application has been submitted and the applicable archaeology fees have been paid. The archaeological review shall result in the determination of proposed archaeology efforts on the site and the application shall then be made a part of the city's prescribed permitting process.

And likewise, section 11-411 of the Zoning Ordinance of the City of Alexandria states the following:

D) Preliminary archaeological assessment.

Prior to filing an application for approval of a preliminary site plan to which this section 11-411 applies, the applicant shall confer with the director of the office of historic Alexandria in order for the director to conduct a preliminary assessment of the potential archaeological significance of any site plan area designated on the map, and of the impact of any proposed ground disturbing activities on such area. The applicant shall provide full and accurate information as to all ground disturbing activities proposed to be conducted on the site.

Alexandria's ordinance also takes some of the mystery out of the process of archaeological review by explicitly spelling out the criteria by which it evaluates both significance and the project's ability to impact the site. Paragraph E of Section 11-411 of the Zoning Ordinance explains:

(E) Criteria for preliminary assessment.

Such preliminary archaeological assessment shall be based upon the following criteria, and shall be conducted consistent with professionally recognized standards for archaeological site evaluation:

- (1) Research value. The extent to which the archaeological data that might be contained on the property would contribute to the expansion of knowledge.
- (2) Rarity. The degree of uniqueness the property's resources possess and their potential for providing archaeological information about a person, structure, event or historical process, for which there are very few examples in Alexandria.

(3) Public Value. The level of importance the property has to the community as a location associated with a significant person, structure, event or historical process.

(4) Site integrity. The extent to which soil stratigraphy and original placement and condition of archaeological resources on the property have not been disturbed or altered in a manner which appreciably reduces their research or public value.

(5) Presence of materials. The extent to which archaeological resources or evidence of historic structures are present on the property.

(6) Impact on resources. The extent to which any proposed ground disturbing activities will alter or destroy resources which the director has determined to have substantial archaeological significance under sections 11-411(E)(1) through (5) above.

In Phoenix, again, there is no ordinance, but the procedure followed by the city's planning department requires the applicant to meet with the city archaeologist if preliminary review by planning staff indicates that the project is to take place in an area that the city archaeologist believes to be archaeologically sensitive (Bostwick 2010).

What happens following this preliminary review gets to the heart of how these cities use the development process to generate information about their past, and it also highlights some of the differences between the cities' regulations and review processes. In St. Augustine, the type of action required by the ordinance depends upon the archaeological zone in which the proposed project is taking place, and the magnitude of the disturbance. As explained in Section 6-6 of the City Code, Zone I, the zone which contains the "most significant" sites, is subject to a very high level of archaeological scrutiny: "Within Archaeological Zone I, any major disturbance shall be subject to intensive salvage archaeology prior to the commencement of the disturbance, building construction, or utility excavation, by the city archaeologist." A major disturbance in Zone I is the only situation in which an "intensive salvage" excavation is mandatory, but minor disturbances in Zone I, and major or minor disturbances in Zones II and III are subject to testing

by the city archaeologist prior to the beginning of the ground disturbing activity, and in both cases the testing may lead to a full-scale excavation at the discretion of the city archaeologist. In Zone II, the archaeologist may again test and excavate the site after the disturbance has begun to take place, if, while subsequently monitoring the disturbance, he or she should see something that makes him or her think that additional testing and excavation it is necessary. In Zone III, once the original testing and excavation period is complete, the archaeologist may only monitor the site, and for all intents and purposes, may only clean up after the bulldozers.

In St. Augustine, the zone in which a disturbance takes place also influences the amount of time the archaeologist may take to carry out the excavation. According to Section 6-6 of the ordinance, in Zone I, the archaeologist is guaranteed at least four weeks to carry out the excavation for a major disturbance. Should the archaeologist need more time, he or she may request up to an additional eight weeks with the permission of the city manager. After the total twelve week period has concluded, the archaeologist may only continue excavating with the expressed permission of the land owner. For a minor disturbance, the archaeologist has a maximum of four weeks for the excavation, with no possibility of an extension barring the owner's permission. In Zone II, the city archaeologist has the same four week period for major disturbances, but may only receive an additional four weeks of extension time with the city manager's permission. The archaeologist has a maximum of three weeks to respond to minor disturbances in Zone II. In Zone III, the city archaeologist is given two weeks, which may be supplemented by an additional two weeks with the city manager's permission. For minor disturbances in Zone III, the archaeologist is given a maximum of two weeks.

Although these time restrictions may sound severe, Carl Halbirt, the St. Augustine city archaeologist, says that he rarely has to ask for extensions:

We've investigated over 500 properties within the city limits, and I would say that, of those 500, less than five percent [have required time extensions]. And generally, those have always been really big projects. Those are the type of projects...universities...doing it as opposed to the city...I mean, it's big. And because we're so small, it takes us a little bit longer. Because, you know, it's just myself and the volunteers. And I don't want to burn out my volunteers by having them work 10-hour days (Halbirt 2010).

Given that he generally operates with a paid staff of one (himself), and volunteer workers the lack of extension requests by Halbirt is a significant accomplishment.

Like the type of excavation required at a site, the fees charged by the city for conducting the archaeology also vary based on the zone in which the disturbance is taking place. According to Section 6-8 of St. Augustine's City Code, the fee charged for an archaeology permit in Zone I is 1 ½ percent of the total estimated project cost. In Zone II the archaeology fee is 1 ¼ percent of the total estimated project cost, and in Zone III, the fee is 1 percent of estimated project costs. Although it is pure speculation, one almost has to assume that this funding mechanism was inspired by the 1974 Moss-Bennett Act, which allowed federal agencies to allocate up to 1 percent of their total project costs for archaeological mitigation projects and helping to create the cultural resource management industry in the process.

While the character of the different archaeological zones within St. Augustine plays a significant role in defining the nature of the city's archaeology regulations, Alexandria has developed a very different system of archaeological review. Rather than requiring the city archaeologist to head out and excavate the site in question prior to the beginning of ground disturbance, Alexandria puts the onus of that burden on the developer. According to section 11-411 of the city's Zoning Ordinance, the developer is responsible for preparing and submitting an Archaeological Evaluation Report and Resource Management Plan for the site as part of the package being prepared for preliminary site review. As such, the city is essentially assured that

the developer will produce a resource management proposal that sufficiently protects or mitigates damage to the city's archaeological resources, because he or she will not receive a preliminary site plan approval without one. The description of what the developer is required to produce is provided in Paragraph G of Section 11-411 of the City of Alexandria Zoning Ordinance:

G) Archaeological evaluation report and resource management plan.

(1) When required under the provisions of this section 11-411, the applicant shall submit as part of the preliminary site plan application an archaeological evaluation report and a resource management plan, prepared by a qualified archaeologist or historian in conformity with professionally recognized standards for cultural resource management. The applicant or the authorized agent thereof shall confer with the director of the office of historic Alexandria prior to preparing any submission to define and agree upon guidelines for such report and plan.

(2) Such archaeological evaluation report shall include detailed evaluation of the archaeological significance of the site plan area, including but not limited to reasonable measures for historic research, archaeological surveys and test excavations.

(3) Such resource management plan shall include reasonable measures for the study and preservation of archaeological resources found within the site plan area, including but not limited to test and full-scale excavations, site construction monitoring, field recording, photography laboratory analysis, conservation of organic and metal artifacts, curation of the collection (e.g., artifacts, notes, photographs) and preparation of reports.

(4) Such resource management plan may, and if required by the planning commission or city council shall, also provide reasonable measures for further archaeological study, restoration , reconstruction, disposition of recovered artifacts to an appropriate public or private collection or museum, and in situ preservation of archaeological resources found within the site plan area.

The resource management plan, then, requires the developer to hire a professional archaeologist who can, should it be determined to be necessary, fully excavate the site, analyze the artifacts and information developed through the research process, and produce a final report detailing the

findings of the work. The city also has a set of archaeological standards which describes the details of what form the final products should take. The benefit to the developer of including this step so early in the review process is described by one of the city's archaeologists, Steve Shephard, as follows:

They're not going to be stopped, and they're not going to be slowed down because of the way it was all set up, to make sure that the archaeological work, both the identification of sites and then any mitigation that you would need, could be done well before they would actually have the release of the final building permit and the site plan so they could start building... (Shephard 2010).

Thus, the developer has the city's permission to begin turning dirt for archaeology while permission to turn dirt for construction purposes is still under review. And it is to the developer's advantage to let the archaeologists begin their excavation as quickly as possible, so that they will have finished and moved on to writing up their findings by the time the construction permit is granted by the city.

Phoenix provides a third take on this question of how to provide effective archaeological review during the development process. The city's size, both geographically and in terms of population, makes it far larger than either of the other two cities, yet it must make do with an archaeology staff that is essentially the same size as St. Augustine. In Phoenix, once it has been determined that archaeological review is necessary for a private project, the developer must set up a meeting with the city archaeologist prior to undergoing review by the other city departments. Todd Bostwick, the city archaeologist, describes that aspect of the review process as follows:

...the developmental services department actually decided that the applicant was not allowed to get any other departmental reviews until my sign-off. So mine is the first sign-off and if that wasn't signed off, you couldn't even proceed with their

application process. They just said, "Until we see his signature, we can't go to police, we can't go to fire, can't go to any other departments that need your sign-off on this..." (Bostwick 2010)

During that meeting, the developer explains the project to the city archaeologist, and as a result of that meeting, the city archaeologist prepares his "stipulation" or description of the archaeology that the project is required to undergo in order to receive his approval (Bostwick 2010). The developer must then hire a contract archaeologist to execute the scope of work that the city archaeologist has prepared (Bostwick 2010). Once Bostwick sees the signed contract between the developer and the contract archaeologist, he will sign off on the project and let it proceed with the other necessary reviews (Bostwick 2010).

Like Alexandria, the presence of so many projects and the use of many different CRM firms for developing the city's archaeological record has required Phoenix to develop standards for what the final products created by archaeological review should contain. In Phoenix these standards take the form of "general treatment plans" (Bostwick 2010). Bostwick describes the role of the general treatment plans as follows:

...those general treatment plans identify all the research questions that we were asking over and over again in a systematic matter, identified the basic archeological background for the area and the standard industry methodologies that we're using almost the same for every site, you know, depth of trenches, kind of trenches, stripping, all of that. And so we have three of those documents. There's one for monitoring, one for canals, and one for small-scale excavations.

...and then those are supplemented by a letter we call the supplemental letter. And that letter then is written for project-specific details...the map showing location, how many trenches you're going to do, what the sample sizes are.

The plans then can be used by anybody. All they have to do is prepare that supplemental letter than we have to review and approve that. And I've gotten all of the other agencies, the [SHPO] and the various federal agencies that oversee archeology in Phoenix to agree that those general plans are acceptable. (Bostwick 2010).

The differences between the development review processes used in St. Augustine, Alexandria and Phoenix are striking. In St. Augustine, the city archaeologist is personally responsible for recovering, documenting and interpreting everything that comes out of the ground. There is no need for written guidelines for archaeology, because he is the one responsible for determining the extent of the work to be done and the form that knowledge will take. That Halbirt is able to stay ahead of the demands for archaeology in St. Augustine is a testament both to his time management skills and to the volunteers who assist on the city's digs. In both Alexandria and Phoenix, there is simply more archaeology taking place than one individual or realistically funded city office can handle. Due in large part to the size of the cities and the high number and high value of the development projects being undertaken, the city archaeologists must become equal parts bureaucrats and archaeologists, providing oversight to consultant archaeologists hired by the developer and making sure that the archaeological mitigation taking place meets the city's standards.

Evaluating the Archaeology Regulations

These three cities have recognized the magnitude of just how great the potential is to recover archaeological information through the development process, and as such they should be lauded for doing the back-breaking work of the pioneer, clearing a path so that others may follow. For their many differences, of size, of geographic location, and of the histories they seek to recover, there are many similarities between the three programs. However, there are also many differences and these open the discussion of the relative merits of different aspects of the

programs, and how those differences might affect the development of municipal archaeology regulations in other communities across the country.

The most immediately apparent difference between the procedures used in the three cities is that St. Augustine and Alexandria have archaeological protection ordinances and Phoenix does not. The city archaeologist in Phoenix has been able to introduce a level of archaeological review into the development process for private projects by establishing good working relationships with the development review staff, by making use of state and federal archaeological legislation when they apply, and by working closely with developers to draft archaeological protection plans for different projects. However, this does not provide the same level of protection that would be created by an actual ordinance. Instead, the city's approach to archaeological protection in private projects depends very heavily upon the personality of the city archaeologist himself. At different times, this can require getting developers excited about how archaeology can help their project, or it can require throwing a little bit of weight around to make sure that difficult archaeology is included in development plans. Without an ordinance, however, the archaeologist has to use whatever means are necessary to make sure that archaeology takes place before the ground is disturbed.

This heavy dependence on the individual city archaeologist has allowed for some exceptional archaeology, as evidenced by the Phoenix Chinatown Project, where archaeology took place prior to the 1990 construction of the new arena used by the Phoenix Suns (Bostwick 2009: 6,7). But it also raises a question about the future character of the program after the current city archaeologist retires and someone else takes his place. Should the next city archaeologist lack the "people skills" required in such a highly politicized environment, the archaeology of the city could suffer as a result. As indicated above, the city's General Plan

adopted the position that the city should be exploring regulatory approaches to protecting the city's archaeological resources. Although the current economic climate may have made the adoption of new development regulations unpopular, the city may want to revisit the idea of an archaeological protection ordinance while it still has access to the experience and institutional knowledge of Bostwick, who has been the city archaeologist since 1990.

Another major difference between the procedures and regulations adopted by the three cities has to do with the question of who actually carries out the archaeology required by the private development regulations. In both Phoenix and Alexandria, when the city requires archaeological investigation to be carried out on a private building site, developers are typically required to hire professional archaeologists to carry out the investigation and prepare the subsequent reports. The city's archaeologists are responsible for developing the scope of work and for reviewing the quality of the work generated by the hired archaeologists. St. Augustine is different in that it actually requires the city archaeologist to carry out the archaeological investigation himself. This concentrates a tremendous amount of work on one individual, and it is probably the biggest weakness of the city's archaeology ordinance. No matter how talented the archaeologist, the ordinance creates a structure where an increase in the amount of development activity results in a decrease in the amount of time that the city's archaeologist can devote to each project. When multiple projects are underway at the same time, the archaeologist simply has less time to research, excavate, analyze, and report his findings. This might be an appropriate structure for smaller municipalities, but for larger cities that might have multiple complex excavations that need to take place at the same time, a different format might address some significant concerns.

In Alexandria and Phoenix, where developers are required to hire their own project archaeologists when archaeological review is required, an increase in the number of developments results in an increase in the number of archaeologists available to do the work. Each project still has its own archaeologist, and it eliminates the bottleneck that can develop in St. Augustine when multiple developments require the attention of the same archaeologist. The system developed in St. Augustine is not necessarily a bad model, but it might be more appropriate for a very small community, where it is less likely that multiple projects will be taking place at one time. It is also worth noting that when the city's archaeology ordinance was first passed, in December of 1986, the city had an agreement with the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, so that the HSAPB would make its archaeologists available to carry out the city's ordinance. HSAPB had two archaeologists available to share the workload created by the city's ordinance. Following the dissolution of that agreement in 1990, and the subsequent revisions made to the ordinance, the city hired a single archaeologist to fill the void.

The model created by Alexandria probably presents the most stable of the three city archaeology programs, in that its ordinance is well entrenched in the city's development regulations and it uses CRM firms to carry out the archaeology in private development projects, but of the three programs, Alexandria's long term planning documents are the least supportive of archaeology. While this hasn't prevented the city from developing a strong archaeological protection program, it does create some concern that opportunities for integrating archaeological information in long term development plans may pass by without being recognized by the city's planners or elected officials. The development regulations provide a minimum level of protection, but if archaeology were more visible in the city's visioning documents, policy makers

and members of the public might be more encouraged to see the present condition as a jumping-off point, rather than something that has already been accomplished.

Tremendous potential for archaeological discovery exists when private property enters the process of land development, but only rarely have cities sought to take advantage of this opportunity. In Alexandria, St. Augustine and Phoenix, archaeology has been given a space in the development review process, and it although each city has approached the task with its own unique perspective, the end result has been that these cities are setting the example that other similarly minded communities might follow.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF MUNICIPAL ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAMS IN CREATING COMMUNITY ASSETS

Understanding the relationship between city planning and public archaeology means looking for areas where the two fields complement each other's strengths and weaknesses. The previous chapter discussed the approaches used by the three cities to situate archaeology within the development review framework. This represents one way of identifying how archaeology can take advantage of what planning has to offer. Exploring the role of archaeology in the creation of community assets offers a way for planners to take advantage of what archaeologists have to offer, returning the favor, so to speak. Among the contributions that archaeology can make within the planning context is the ability to create a unique identity for specific geographic points within the community. Archaeology has a strong connection with place – the information that archaeologists collect from the ground can only come from that one particular location. And archaeologists frequently need to either excavate a site, thereby obtaining the information it contains, or preserve it in order to maintain its potential for providing information in the future. Both of these processes offer opportunities for planners to build better communities. The excavation, or even simply the act of recognizing the events that occurred on a particular site, provides a way for a site to become meaningful for the local population today. The act of preserving and interpreting the site, either before or after its excavation, provides an opportunity to create parks, museums or other types of amenities that can be readily used by the community for reasons that may have to do with the site's history, or which may simply use history to create an additional layer of complexity to depth for such a site.

The purpose of this chapter is to showcase the range of opportunities in which archaeology may be integrated into municipal asset building efforts. It will identify different categories of amenities, and will explain the role of archaeology in their development. Some examples represent major capital improvement projects, such as new city parks, while others require smaller capital investments for identifying historic sites with signage and presenting them to the public as a trail, or installing interpretive art pieces at a historic site. These do not necessarily represent all of the amenities that use archaeology in these communities but the samples discussed demonstrate the variety of ways in which planners have incorporated archaeology into their efforts when working to create unique and meaningful public amenities.

Museums

For most people, museums probably provide their first real-world contact with the field of archaeology, and Alexandria and Phoenix both provide good examples of municipal museums that provide local residents with direct exposure to the city's archaeology, though they do this through very different methods. These museums are community amenities in every sense of the word, in that they provide access to activities, knowledge, and social networks that they probably would not encounter in their daily working lives, but which can add a great deal to the local quality of life.

Alexandria: Alexandria Archaeology Museum

When Alexandria's Archaeology Museum first opened to the public in 1984, it differed from most the other museums within the city, and for that matter in other parts of the country, because it was developed to showcase the process and practice of archaeology itself, rather than simply presenting the "most interesting" or "most valuable" pieces that had been uncovered in

the city (Beyers 1984). The philosophy that guided the creation of the museum was well explained by the city's archaeologists in the news coverage of the facility's opening. A 1984 *Alexandria Journal* article quotes City Archaeologist Pam Cressey as saying: "We're entering a whole new phase of archaeological study in the city... We're making it possible for the public to participate with us" (Beyers 1984). Likewise, the same article quotes Steve Shephard, another member of the city's archaeology staff, as saying "Most archaeologists never come in contact with the public. They do their research and put it in a paper that no one reads.... We're getting that information out to the public. I think that's the best service archaeology can provide" (Beyers 1984).

The activities of the museum have certainly borne out these assertions. Mary Jane Nugent, one of the founders and still a member of the Friends of Alexandria Archaeology (FOAA), who was appointed to the Alexandria Archaeological Commission in 2010, described the activities of FOAA by saying "what they do is they're the volunteers who man the lab, man the digs, provide the manpower, womanpower, for doing the actual work..." (Nugent 2010). The Archaeology Museum gives the public a chance to not just see the actual day-to-day work that uses archaeological techniques to produce knowledge about the city, but do the actual washing, labeling, and storing of some of the artifacts from some of the city's projects as they come in from the field.

Nugent, recounting how she first became involved with the Archaeology Museum in the mid-1980s, remembered her interest being piqued after seeing ruins in Israel, Greece and Jordan, and how that interest followed her back home to Alexandria:

"I had not studied...[archaeology]. I came back and I thought 'oh wow, this is really interesting, but I'm never going to...four kids, I'm never going to go over

and dig a dig or anything like that' and then I remembered that we had developed this program in Alexandria. So I thought well, if you think you're interested why don't you just go see if you actually are interested and if you'd like to do it. And that was the beginning for me. So I came down and started doing lab work and I dug a number of sites... And what I found was, I had no training, but because of the way it's handled and how you are shown what to do as a volunteer, over the years you learn a huge amount... (Nugent 2010).

This is precisely the type of response that illustrates the different ways in which the community benefits from the city's Archaeology Museum. An individual with an interest essentially "stumbles onto" the city's archaeology program, goes to the museum and meets with others interested in similar processes and topics. In effect this person provides free labor for the city in conducting archaeological work that would not otherwise be done, or that would be quite costly for the city. Because the individual is intellectually stimulated and interested in the activity at hand, and is surrounded by others of a similar persuasion, archaeology becomes a social and civic activity, the individual supports the city's museum and becomes an advocate within the local government structure. Through the activities of the museum, archaeology has become a major part of this person's life. And it is worth mentioning that this is far from a unique event. In 2010, volunteers donated over 7300 hours to the city's archaeology program, and over the past three years its archaeology-based activities, including the museum, drew between 26,000 and 30,000 individual participants (Friends of Alexandria Archaeology 2010; City of Alexandria, Virginia 2009: 534).

Because the fundamental purpose of archaeology is developing information about past peoples, and because the museum is also the workspace for the city's archaeologists, this space contains much of the information about the city's past that its archaeologists need to carry out their work on a daily basis. And because the level of public engagement that the program has developed through the years is so high, many volunteers, amateur historians and others have

received training in how to use and contribute to the archaeology museum's archives, providing still another level of service to the public. The city archaeologist may let an interested volunteer know that the city has an ongoing project with regard to a particular area of town, and that volunteer may spend his or her own time in the city's deed room, making copies of property records to be included in the archaeology museum's files. Through informal activities such as this, not to mention the procurement and transcription of oral histories, copies of census records dating back to the early 19th century, Sanborn and other historic maps, and a host of other material, the Archaeology Museum becomes its own repository of knowledge about the city's past, an amenity that few other cities possess.

Phoenix: Pueblo Grande Museum

The Pueblo Grande Museum identifies one of its main purposes as being: "enhancing the knowledge of prehistory, history, and ethnology of inhabitants of the Southwest, and promoting a greater understanding of the diversity of cultures past and present, for our guests and the citizens of Phoenix" (Pueblo Grande Museum 2010b). It has embraced that work with relish, involving the public in the planning and construction of exhibits. A sampling of the exhibit titles from the past thirty years offers some insight into the different approaches that the museum has used to carry out its mission. Some of the titles have included: *Pottery and the Pueblos*, *Cycles of Conquest*, *Lodges from Mother Earth*, and *Archaeoastronomy: Hohokam Time Pieces* (Bostwick 1993: 244). Recent exhibits include *Hohokam: The Land and the People*, and *Landscape Legacies: The Art and Archaeology of Perry Mesa* (Pueblo Grande Museum 2010a). This is in addition to the outdoor exhibit, which includes the 1500 year old Pueblo Grande Mound complex, a walking path, and a reconstruction of several Hohokam structures (Pueblo Grande Museum 2010b). These amenities are situated on approximately 108 acres of land in the

middle of Phoenix, and are now easily accessible by the city's newly established light rail system.

Aside from mounting temporary and permanent exhibits, the museum also runs teacher workshops, maintains a research library, and serves as a repository and curatorial facility for the archaeological material encountered from the city's archaeology projects and previous digs at the Pueblo Grande site (Pueblo Grande Museum 2010b). According to the director of the Museum, Roger Lidman, the most current information as of the Spring of 2010 showed that just under 45,000 people visited in a one year period, and that of those, 64% were local residents (Lidman 2010).

It is worth bringing one of the major differences between Pueblo Grande and the Alexandria Archaeology Museum into tighter focus, because they both represent different approaches to using archaeology as an asset in a community. The Alexandria Archaeology Museum and the Pueblo Grande Museum represent different types of museums – the Alexandria Archaeology Museum has only a handful of displays and the primary “exhibits” relate to the practice of archaeology rather than the artifacts themselves. Visitors to this museum are more likely to encounter people washing and labeling artifacts. They may read through the record of hundreds of individuals buried at the Freedmen's Cemetery, or try their own hands at reassembling replica or unprovenanced pottery fragments. The Pueblo Grande Museum generally follows practices that are more widely embraced by natural history or art museums, in that there are definite exhibits and displays, and those exhibits change regularly in order to introduce the public to new information about the museum's subject area.

Public Parks

Archaeological sites have a long history of being protected for public use through reservation from sale, through outright purchase, or by way of other techniques that vest the local, state or federal governments with the ownership rights for an archaeologically significant parcel of land. As discussed in Chapter II, the protection of Casa Grande as an archaeological preserve was the first federal example of this practice, and it has been repeated in various forms and for a variety of sites throughout the nation at the state and local level.

The three cities being discussed here each provide their own unique perspectives on the relationship between archaeology and parks that feature and interpret archaeological sites for the public. In Alexandria, Fort Ward Park has a long history of being the city's most well-known archaeological park, and the city's archaeology program has played a fundamental role in the continued development and growth of that park into the modern era. In St. Augustine, the newly created Fort Mose Park represents one example of how a community of archaeological enthusiasts helped to identify and protect a site that has since become both a state park and a National Historic Landmark. In Phoenix, both the well known Pueblo Grande site and the city's South Mountain Park provide different ways for the public to experience city assets that were either directly created as a result of archaeological protection efforts, or whose use is influenced by the presence and interpretation of archaeological sites.

Alexandria: Fort Ward Park:

Fort Ward Park exists today because a group of dedicated citizens decided to prod the city into action, encouraging it to purchase the site, conduct archaeology, reconstruct the northwest bastion of the fort, and develop the park as a real, tangible community asset. The 45

acre park provides modern visitors with an opportunity to see how a Civil War fort would have appeared when in operation. Visitors may walk through the reconstructed bastion, and observe the replica cannon, gates, officers' barracks, earthworks, and other features. They may also see the difference between the restored section of the fort and the non-restored areas, allowing visitors to recognize some of the time-depth of the site, and to appreciate how quickly their city has changed. The park also includes the Fort Ward Museum, which interprets the site as a part of the Defenses of Washington, using it to present information about life during the Civil War. But while the reconstructed bastion is the park's central feature, it also provides space for more traditional park activities, including picnics, family reunions, and exercise. During the summer, it receives between 5,000 and 10,000 visitors per month exclusive of those who attend special events such as Music at Twilight series, the Jazz Festival, and historic reenactments (see Figure 28) (Guse-Noritake 2009).



Figure 17: Re-enactors at Fort Ward Park. Author photo, 2010

In recent years, the city's archaeology program has played a different role in the park, drawing attention to the historical events that took place at the site of the Civil War fort immediately after the war's end, when it became home to an African American community that existed there until the city purchased the land in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In this sense, the city has benefitted from its archaeology program in that it first created a public park, and subsequently in that the city's archaeologists were able to use their research skills, including archaeological excavations, to learn more about the African American community at the Fort. The city is now preparing to use the park to tell that second story as well; archaeology has, in a sense, created two different assets within a single park. When the current research and interpretive efforts are complete, visitors will be able to experience the park both as a Civil War site, and as the site of a community whose story begins just after the war, providing a way of learning about Alexandria's African American population from Reconstruction into the Civil Rights era.

St. Augustine: Fort Mose

Fort Mose offers a slightly different approach to the idea of turning an archaeological site into a park, as it became a unit of the state park system. Fort Mose lays claim to being America's first free black settlement (MacMahon and Deagan 1996: 54). In the late 17th century, slaves who escaped from the British colonies to the north were given their freedom when they arrived in the Spanish territory of Florida (MacMahon Deagan 1996: 54). By 1738, the Spanish governor formed these free men into a military company, and posted them and their families at Fort Mose, just north of the city of St. Augustine on a tributary of the Matanzas River

(MacMahon Deagan 1996: 54). This fort was destroyed in battle with the British, and a second was erected ¼ mile away in 1752 (MacMahon Deagan: 1996: 55).

Today, the location of the first fort has been identified, but it sits under a foot of water (MacMahon and Deagan 1996: 55). The second fort was rediscovered in 1985 as a result of research led by Dr. Kathleen Deagan of the University of Florida, and funded by the State of Florida (MacMahon Deagan 1996). In late 1986, Fort Mose was identified as being among the city's most archaeologically sensitive sites (City of St. Augustine, Florida 1986). It has always been identified as being in Zone I, requiring complete excavation prior to any ground disturbing activities. Fortunately, development near the site has been minimal, and the 23 acres encompassing both forts were subsequently purchased by the State of Florida in 1989 and turned into a state park (Fort Mose Historical Society 2006). The site was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1994 and is now featured on the Florida Black History Trail, developed by the Florida Division of Historical Resources (Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources 2011).

Fort Mose Historic State Park is a very different kind of park than Alexandria's Fort Ward because it is much smaller and a large part of the park is marshland. The park contains an interpretive center (see Figure 29) which displays artifacts from the excavations, a picnic area, annual living history exhibits, and because rising water levels in the area have separated the site of the second Fort itself from the mainland, the park includes a boardwalk by which visitors may walk out and see, though not access, the site of the Fort. The path to the boardwalk includes interpretive signage explaining the Park's African-American history (see Figure 30).



Figure 18: Visitor Center at the Fort Mose State Park. Author photo, 2010

This boardwalk also provides visitors with a way to access the more distant marshlands away from shore, making it an ideal amenity for watching birds and other wildlife in their native habitat. The dual purpose of the boardwalk is key to understanding the success of park. Because, along with interpreting one of the state and the nation's most significant archaeological sites, it allows archaeology to be paired with other recreational needs existing within the community. In addition to its historical information, the Park features information about the wildlife likely to be encountered in the park along the walkway. The pairing of archaeology and nature education is common practice at archaeological sites that have been turned into parks.



Figure 19: Interpretive signage at Fort Mose State Park. Author photo, 2010

Phoenix: South Mountain Park

South Mountain Park in Phoenix should be included in the discussion of how archaeology can help to create community amenities in part because it was *not* identified and recognized solely for its value as an archaeological site. Instead, at South Mountain, archaeology only represents one aspect of the park, and it is not necessarily the most commonly recognized. In this case the petroglyphs etched into stones by the Hohokam found throughout the park can provide a “value added” feature among the existing community assets (see Figure 31). They add to the number of ways in which visitors can experience and learn to understand the landscape.

Most of the nearly 17,000 acres of land that became South Mountain Park was purchased by the City of Phoenix in 1924 from the federal Bureau of Land Management for the purpose of creating a municipal park (Bostwick and Krocek 2002: 14). According to the Trust for Public Land, South Mountain Park is the largest city-owned park in the country (Trust for Public Land 2010). Modern users describe the park in much the same glowing terms as those in Alexandria use for Fort Ward Park, though given the scale of the park, it is perhaps not surprising that its users seem to be a bit more active. Todd Bostwick describes those using the Park as "...hikers, joggers, equestrians, cyclists, hang gliders, picnickers, partiers, romance-seekers, and stargazers..." (Bostwick and Krocek 2002: 14). The Park contains over 51 miles of hiking trails, permits horseback rides, and widely recognized as the city's major recreational amenity; it is visited by an estimated 3 million people annually (City of Phoenix 2011).

Although the petroglyphs frequently take a back seat to the Park's nearly 17,000 acres of desert mountain wilderness, they are an important part of the experience and they provide an opportunity for many archaeological enthusiasts to both appreciate and sometimes even contribute to developing the city's archaeological record (Ewan et al. 2004). The petroglyphs are featured prominently in the city's efforts at promoting the park; the *South Mountain Park Newsletter* from November/December 2010 provided a trail guide for gaining access to several groupings of the rock carvings (City of Phoenix Parks and Recreation Department 2010).

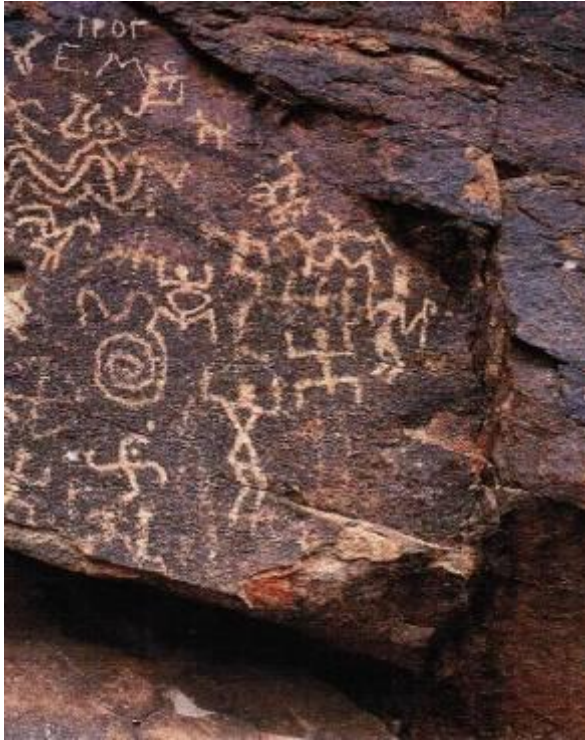


Figure 20: Hohokam rock art in South Mountain Park (Bostwick & Krocek, 2002, following page 28).

The rock art also provides an opportunity for members of the public to become a bit more engaged with the archaeological community and with the South Mountain Park's complex landscape. The South Mountain Rock Art Project is a collaborative project created by the Arizona State University School of Human Evolution and Social Change, the City of Phoenix Parks and Recreation Department and the non-profit Center for Desert Archaeology (Swanson and Bostwick 2007). Through this project, volunteers and avocational archaeologists have been able to participate in identifying and recording the petroglyphs found in the Park (South Mountain Rock Art Project 2011). Given its size, the relative inaccessibility of much of its land, and the inconspicuous nature of many of the petroglyphs, there is little doubt that the list of currently known rock art sites represents only a portion of those that are actually present in the Park.

The rock art of South Mountain Park helps to illustrate how archaeology may play a valued role, even if it is not the primary one, in a city's recreational planning. Of course, not every community has ancient rock art to record or thousands of acres of open space in which to find it, but there are certainly lessons from Phoenix that can be useful in other locations. One of the most apparent would be that when parks are made out of landscapes that are known to have been influenced by human forces, those places offer additional avenues through which the public may experience that space. Visitors may come to value the site for its natural characteristics, or for those features created by previous human activity. Making a conscious effort to develop parks that are readily identifiable as cultural landscapes allows people to study and appreciate both nature and the people who have used that landscape in previous generations.

Archaeological easements in private developments

One of the more creative new ideas to have come out of the relationship between archaeology and the planning sphere is the idea that sensitive archaeological sites can become private archaeological "reserves" or "preserves" as an alternative to the destruction of a site through development or the outright purchase of the land by a government body. This type of asset not only keeps archaeological information from being destroyed, but when the site is presented as a park or an open space, it can help to draw interest from the residential housing market as well, compensating the developer or landowner for the loss of the use of that ground as a building site. Thus, the archaeologists are happy because a site is protected, the developer is happy because his or her development has an amenity that distinguishes it from the rest of the housing market, those who purchase the site are happy because they essentially have access to a private archaeological park.

This approach uses a relatively sophisticated planning tool, the conservation easement, tailored to protect archaeological resources. Conservation easements have historically been encountered in the realm of open space protection or in the protection of ecologically sensitive lands. And façade easements have been a part of historic preservation planning for many years, but the use of archaeological easements within the sphere of private development represents a relatively new and somewhat unexplored twist on the idea.

There is a significant downside to the arrangement, however. By remaining private property, these historic sites may or may not be accessible to members of the general public, thus prohibiting those with an interest from engaging with the past in the same manner that they might have if the site were preserved using different, publicly oriented means. Another drawback to this approach is that while an archaeological reserve may be a desirable amenity in the eyes of the developer, this is in large part because he or she may increase the price of the housing units being offered. Thus, access to the city's past becomes restricted to those with the means to purchase it. Still another hazard of this type of development is that it could encourage homeowners in the subdivision to think of the archaeological sites as "theirs" for the taking, encouraging looting or pot-hunting. This might be prevented through regular contact with the easement holding organization, but the risk may still remain. However, this arrangement has proven effective at protecting archaeological sites from destruction. At the very least, it is something that more planners and archaeologists should be aware of when they encounter archaeological sites that are best left undisturbed.

The concept of the private archaeological reserve has surfaced in one form or another in all three cities. In the example from Alexandria, the archaeological preserve developed as part of the Stonegate development in 1992 was discussed in Chapter II. Had the housing market not

collapsed when it did, Phoenix would also have an example protecting Hohokam rock art.

Phoenix city archaeologist Todd Bostwick recently recalled a proposal for a development whose funding has since dried up:

...we had one interesting cluster of...petroglyphs and... We told them [the developers] they couldn't put a house where the rock art was, but they should leave it as open space and then they could have that as a private petroglyph park for the gated community that they were building. And they thought that was fantastic; they got very excited about that. So the loss of revenue from that one house was more than offset by the marketing that they'd use to sell the rest of the houses (Bostwick 2010).

Although the development did not take place, the interest of the developer provides support for the idea that there might be a demand for this type of archaeological site protection.

St. Augustine: Bonita Bay

By all appearances today, the Bonita Bay subdivision is a small, pleasant, expensive waterfront subdivision in St. Augustine, in which several of the nine lots are served by their own private boat slip. It took some work, however, to get the community to the point where anyone would have bought property there. In February of 2004, the city's archaeological protection ordinance required the investigation of the lot at 11 Tremerton St. as a result of the decision of the lot's owner, Michael Johnigan, to begin the process of developing his land (Reed 2004). As a result of the archaeological investigation, city archaeologist Carl Halbirt found the remains of ten individuals buried on the site (Reed and Willot 2004). Following continued investigation, it was learned that in the early to mid 18th Century, a portion of Johnigan's land had been occupied by the Mission of Nuestra Senora del Rosario de la Punta, and that the remains of up to one hundred Christianized Yamasee Indians had been buried beneath the mission (Reed and Willot 2004).

During much of 2004 there was a great deal of active discussion over how the site should be treated, including one protest march and one proposal for the city to engage in a land swap with Johnigan for the lot containing the burials (Pope 2004). Ultimately this proposal did not work out, but the St. Augustine Archaeological Association, the small non-profit group that first formed in 1985 to begin lobbying for a city archaeology ordinance, and which still supports the city archaeologist financially and by staffing his digs, worked with the city and with the developer to essentially place an archaeological easement on the burial site (Gatlin 2010). Under the terms of the agreement, the SAAA became the easement holder for the property containing the burial sites (see Figure 32 and Figure 33) (Gatlin 2010). Julia Gatlin, the President of the SAAA describes the organization's initial response to the concept of the easement, and how they have handled those responsibilities as follows:

What the discussion was and the debate was, was 'how protected is this going to be, what are we going to do with this space' and we ended up ... the lot where the site was found ...extra dirt was put on it and we planted it and it's been made a green space. And we have a sign there explaining that it's a sacred burial site and to treat it with respect. Unfortunately it is inside the gated community, so the public can't look at it, but we do have a representative from SAAA that contacts the neighborhood association once a year, and says 'here we are, do you have any questions about it, do you want someone to come talk to you about it...?' And we did send someone in at one point... We have a team, a committee... that can go in, they have keys and they can get in to monitor it. And of course, you know, it cost the developer a lot of money. That was at least a half million dollar lot, so I feel for them too. [Responding to whether the SAAA charged any kind of fee to the developer:] No we just did this as a volunteer effort (Gatlin 2010).



Figure 21: Interpretive sign explaining the site protected by archaeological easement. Author photo, 2010



Figure 22: The Bonita Bay Subdivision, with the interpretive sign on the bottom left of the image. Author image, 2010

Although some might take issue with the idea of residing next to what is essentially a cemetery, or of using that cemetery as a selling point, it is worth remembering that were this site in almost

any other community, the remains likely would have been discovered only by construction crews rather than archaeologists, and assuming that the backhoe operators were aware of their the law surrounding buried human remains and reported their find, the bones probably would have been disinterred and reburied in a different location, leaving future home owners to know that their home sat on a former Native American burial ground. Instead, a city with an history of progressive archaeology turned the situation into a positive development for the community and the developer – the remains were left largely undisturbed, the developer lost one lot but received a historic park in its place, the residents of the community gained access to green space, and through the historical and preliminary research into the site, the city gained new knowledge about its Native American past.

Integration of Archaeological Material and Information into new Buildings and Developments

While the idea of integrating an archaeological reserve or easement into a residential development is exciting, there is a wide range of ways in which archaeological material or information can be integrated into modern development, even in situations where the site must be disturbed for development to proceed. Alexandria, not surprisingly, has had significant success with this idea, and one of the most noteworthy was the Tide Lock Park addition to the TransPotomac Center discussed in Chapter II. The park is actually private land to which the public has access, but its design was radically improved by its inclusion of the tide lock reconstruction. When the project was completed in 1987, it won widespread attention for the designers, M. Paul Friedberg & Partners, and garnered them a Merit Award from the American Society of Landscape Architects (American Society of Landscape Architects 2011). Perhaps not surprisingly, Alexandria is not alone in its ability to convince developers to include

archaeological information and material in new development. Phoenix is also achieving similar success with a new development project in its downtown.

Phoenix: Cityscape

The CityScape project is one of the most visible private developments to have ever been built in downtown Phoenix. The building site currently encompasses two city blocks, with a third slated for development for residential use when the city's housing market rebounds (CityScape 2011). The cityscape project is being built in the middle of the oldest section of downtown Phoenix, where the modern city first took root in the 1870s (Bostwick 2010).

Aboveground, there isn't much left of the city's earliest days. Belowground, however, turned out to be a different story. Bostwick explains:

They [Red Development] were required to do archeology. It's totally private; they didn't have any state or federal funding or permits. And they came in and... because it's [the] original Phoenix town site, established in 1870... any project there automatically gets triggered.

So they came in and they talked with me. And I explained to them that they were going to have to do archeology. And they ended up spending almost \$1 million for that project for archeology. But we then found the first businesses in Phoenix, famous people, including Barry Goldwater's original family's business, John Y.T. Smith's original flour mill, which really started commercial development in Phoenix in the 1870s. We found the basements of the first adobe business buildings ever constructed in Phoenix in the 1870s. And we have almost no 1870s archeology, and here it is, just a whole city block full.

And so I worked with the developer and I said, "We're only going to collect [a] sample [of] the bricks. Would you like the rest of the bricks that you can then use as architectural amenities in your building?" And they thought that was fantastic. So they went down there and they hauled away all these bricks that were made in the 1880s, because the bricks followed the adobe once there was a brick factory. And now, you know, they can actually take part of the original architecture and put it into the architecture of the building itself.

And not only that, but we kept them updated on the names of these original businesspeople and famous people. And now, some of their convention rooms are going to be named after these people. And all of this came about because of the

investment in archeology that they did. So in the end, they thought that was actually well-spent money, you know, because of the opportunity to work with me, go out and visit the site, visit the excavations, to be part of the team, of the whole process (Bostwick 2010).

Exactly how those bricks will ultimately be used by the developers, and what those rooms will be named, is still a work in progress. The CityScape website provides some idea of what the developers might be thinking. It states that “The project, built at the historic point of origin for the city of Phoenix at the city's zero-zero address line includes a dedicated park, Patriot's Square, honoring city fathers and state pioneers” (CityScape 2011). At the present time, the park is still being developed, so the bricks and other material encountered through archaeology may ultimately make their way into this park or into a different aspect of the development.

Phoenix: Phoenix Convention Center

While the CityScape project provides one example of how archaeology may be integrated into new development, the city offers another good example of how a new building may make use of archaeological information to distinguish itself. As one of the largest cities in the United States, and the largest in the southwest, the city of Phoenix does a great deal to cater to the convention industry. The Phoenix Convention Center recently underwent an expansion, which also required archaeology on two blocks in downtown Phoenix. As part of the development of the center, that archaeology found its way into the fabric of the city's new buildings. Entering the east set of buildings of the Phoenix Convention Center, on the right hand side of the entrance, visitors are treated to a row of floor to ceiling murals depicting the archaeology of the building site (see Figure 34).



Figure 23: "Archaeology Wall" in the Phoenix Convention Center. Mural titled *Building the Future Protecting the Past* Author photo, 2010

The Convention Center is an example in which actual artifacts themselves were not even necessary for creating the asset; images of the archaeology that took place on site can be enough to give future occupants an impression of the site's historical character. There are two themes expressed on the murals in the Convention Center. The first that visitors see as they walk into the center is *Building the Future: Protecting the Past*. The mural includes giant photographs of artifacts found on site, of the archaeology taking place, and a narrative that provides some perspective on how the convention center site has been used through the years.

The wall introduces visitors to how the site was used 1500 years ago, and 150 years ago (see Figure 35). The first provides information about the Hohokam farmstead that had been found on the convention center site, including photographs of the excavation and of pottery

fragments found on site. The second segment of the mural is titled *Transforming a Desert: From Country Farmers to Urban Life* and this mural also includes information about how the site was used throughout the city's history (see Figure 36). It describes the Phoenix Ice Factory, built in 1878, as well as the Phoenix Laundry, and includes a photograph of the laundry, as well as a video about the site's archaeology. The net result is an improvement in the visibility of the city's history, of the value of archaeology in the development process, and a unique feature that provides visitors with a new way of connecting with the city that they would otherwise never have had.

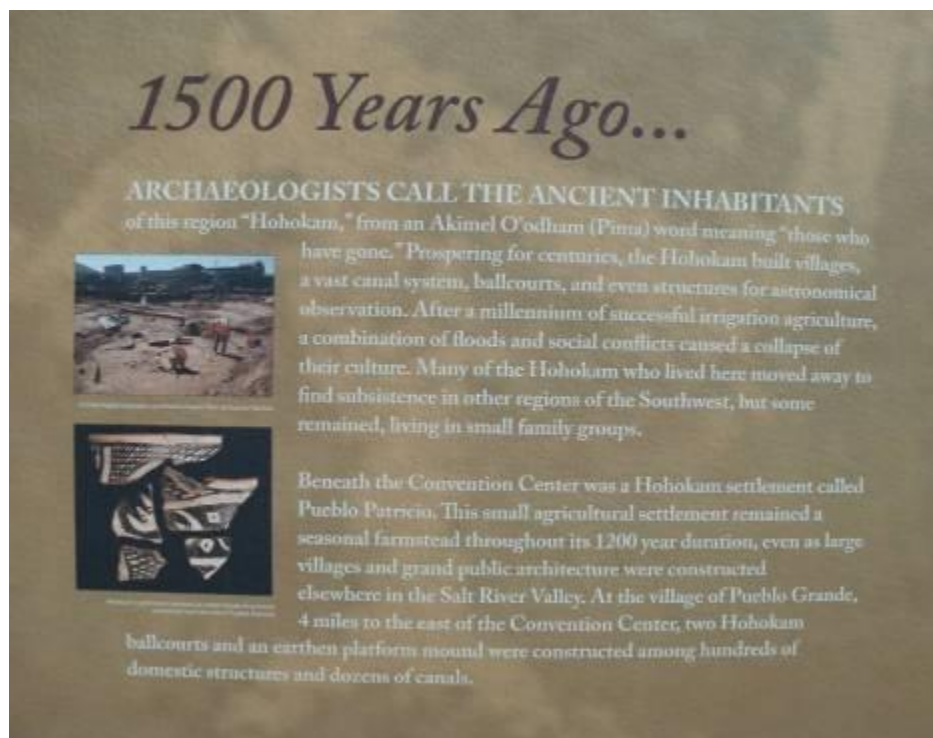


Figure 24: Section of "Archaeology Wall" explaining Hohokam history of the convention center site. Author photo, 2010



Figure 25: Second segment of “Archaeology Wall” in Phoenix Convention Center. Author photo, 2010

Archaeological Features Exposed In Situ

When an archaeological feature is as large as Fort Ward in Alexandria, it presents an obvious opportunity for preservation and interpretation. This type of major feature is rare, however. More common is the historic landscape comprised of much more numerous small features, found in expected and unexpected locations. Alexandria and St. Augustine are both worth noting for their efforts at preserving small archaeological features in-situ, and exposing those features for public view. Over thirty years ago, during the build-up to the nation’s Bicentennial celebrations, the city of Alexandria preserved and exposed for viewing from the street the intact ice well associated with Gadsby’s Tavern, an establishment where Washington, Jefferson, and other founding fathers once dined. More recently, street beautification efforts in

St. Augustine have given the city an opportunity to expose for public view a vertical slice of the oldest platted street in the continental United States, creating a feature that no other community in the nation can provide.

Alexandria: Gadsby's Tavern Ice Well

In 1974, archaeologist Robert Foss carried out the preliminary excavation of the ice well that served Gadsby's Tavern beginning in 1792 (Foss 1974). This excavation was being carried out in conjunction with others in the basement and courtyard of the Tavern, the latter in anticipation of planned utility work. At the time, all the archaeologists were able to do was clear out the modern deposits and fill that had accumulated in the ice house before deciding that the structure was not stable enough to continue excavating without precipitating the structure's collapse. Shortly thereafter, however, archaeologists did return, and the well was stable enough to become part of the city's Bicentennial celebrations.

Today, pedestrians who find themselves at the intersection of Cameron and Royal Streets in Alexandria are likely to notice a large ring of dark colored bricks on the sidewalk, and directly beside the Gadsby's Tavern building, they will see a set of stairs leading down below the sidewalk (see Figure 37). At the bottom of the stairs is a viewing window, which allows the curious to look into the ice well itself through a section that has been cut away, and which is now covered by plexiglass window (see Figure 38). The site is explained through interpretive signage, giving pedestrians a different perspective from which to view the city's history.



Figure 26: The dark colored bricks in the sidewalk indicate the boundaries of the Gadsby's Tavern Ice Well beneath the street. On the right side of the image, the viewing window is visible. Author photo, 2010

Because this feature has been present since 1976, it is, admittedly, beginning to show its age. As a result, in October of 2008, the city began the process of raising funds to restore the display and bring it in line with modern interpretive ideas (Hartmann 2008). The restoration program itself should grab the attention of planners if for no other reason than that the city identified the site as a “transportation enhancement project” in order to apply for federal funds made available through the terms of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) (Hartmann 2008). ISTEA, and its successor legislation, allows federal transportation funds to be used for projects that “enhance” transportation infrastructure, and the restoration of historic structures, or the interpretation of archaeological sites, are frequently funded by way of their value as “enhancement projects.” Architectural plans for the updating and restoration of the

Ice Well exhibit have been prepared for the city, and the project has received its approvals from the architectural review board, increasing the likelihood that the Ice Well will enhance the city's streetscape for decades to come (Bell 2010).



Figure 27: Viewing window for the Gadsby's Tavern Ice Well. Author photo, 2010

St. Augustine: Aviles Street

Exposing archaeological features along Aviles Street, in St. Augustine, provides quite an opportunity for demonstrating what it means to hold the title of “oldest city” and not surprisingly, this opportunity came about because the city’s archaeology code dictated that an investigation had to precede this particular type of city project. The city archaeologist, Carl Halbirt, explained the opportunity presenting itself on Aviles Street as follows:

We were just out at Aviles Street this past April through June. The city's going to be doing some revitalization along one section of it, and we discovered, in one area, a series of, I think, 13 or 15 sequential street surfaces dating back from the early 1600s up to present... Because they're going to take out the parking spaces and extend the sidewalk, so that you have outdoor seating for the cafes. I told the business association that this would be a great opportunity to actually have a window, like some kind of small little display, where they could actually look down and see this series of street surfaces starting in the early 1600s and going up through the present. I said, because as far as I know, this is the earliest street in America of a European nature.

And they're all for it. So as part of the engineering, the city is looking at ways to develop some type of cap along one section of this extension for the sidewalk where they would have a window looking down, and where water will not filter into it, and stuff like that, which would impact the integrity of the wall's profiles (Halbirt 2010).

So through one little window in the ground, visitors and residents will be able to access roughly four hundred years of the city's history from a more literal "layer-by-layer" perspective than at probably any other location in the city. Although the narrow width of Aviles St. may present certain design challenges if the project is carried out, Alexandria's experiences with its similar interpretive effort may be of some instructive value.

Reconstructed and Interpretive Landscape Features

Both of the previous examples provided ways for relatively small archaeological features to be exposed for the public to view. This approach works well for some material, but for a variety of reasons, it is not always the best option for presenting archaeological information to the public. Features may be too fragile to expose to the elements, and it is always possible that what little remains on a site from its historic occupants may simply be ineffective in communicating the site's significance to the modern era. Stone scatter or bits of coal, for example, may not capture the imagination as readily as an intact subterranean masonry vault. Because of this, it is sometimes more appropriate to generate something that is wholly modern in construction, but historic in intent. Reconstructions, memorial sculptures and other forms of

interpretation may ultimately be more effective at drawing attention to a site's past, and may also provide modern occupants of the landscape with a better way of expressing the meaning that a site holds to them than simply exposing what remains below ground. One recent example of this comes from Alexandria, where the city recently unveiled a statue of the Edmonson Sisters, two slaves whose efforts to escape to freedom gained national attention, and whose story is believed to have inspired Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Another example can be found in Phoenix, where Hohokam symbols have found their way into highway overpasses, lamp posts, and other infrastructure to perpetuate familiarity with ancient rock art found throughout the South Mountain Park. And St. Augustine has also used this technique to interpret several historic sites relating to its Spanish Colonial past, namely the reconstruction of different elements of the city's military defense system.

Alexandria: The Edmonson Sisters Statue

In 1848, two sisters, 15-year old Mary Edmonson and 13-year old Emily participated in the Underground Railroad's single largest slave escape attempt (Ricks 2002). The two Edmonson sisters were among the 77 escaped slaves that boarded the *Pearl*, a ship chartered by abolitionists, in Georgetown (now part of Washington, D.C.) in an organized attempt to escape to the north (Ricks 2002). Due to bad weather, the *Pearl* was delayed on the Potomac, and while waiting, the ship was caught and its "cargo" revealed (Ricks 2002). The Edmonson sisters were then bought by Joseph Bruin, of the Alexandria slave trading firm Bruin and Hill (Ricks 2002). According to one source, Bruin brought the sisters to a market in New Orleans known for selling young women to buyers who sought them for prostitution, but it was too late in the season and the girls were brought back to Alexandria (Ricks 2002).

The story of the two girls gained a great deal of attention from northern abolitionists as a result of the sisters' strong connections to the Methodist church (Ricks 2002). Henry Ward Beecher made their freedom a personal cause, and his congregation soon raised the funds necessary to purchase the two young women from Joseph Bruin. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Beecher's sister, would identify the story of the Edmonson sisters as having contributed to the story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* when she published *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1853. Alexandria's role in this story does not paint a pretty picture of the town in the 1840s, but that is, of course, one of the reasons why it is so important to recognize the events that took place in the city prior to the Civil War. It was once home to the largest slave trading firm in the United States, Franklin and Armfield, and the city's association with slavery cannot be easily forgotten.

In 2007, the Alexandria City Council approved a proposal by Carr Properties for a new, 117,000 square foot LEED certified development at 1701 Duke St., the site that once held the Bruin slave pen (Carr Properties 2007). Carr Properties is a firm that has long worked in the city and is very familiar with its archaeology requirements. The developer hired Louis Berger and Associates to carry out the archaeology for the project, and the documentary and archaeological information gathered during that investigation helped to provide greater details about the lives of the people who had been held at the Bruin slave pen, and of the Edmonson sisters in particular (Alexandria Archaeology 2011). The project became known as Edmonson Plaza, named to honor the two sisters who had been held at the slave pen that was once on the property (Carr Properties 2007). In addition to the name of the plaza, Carr paid to construct a 10-foot tall bronze statue of the two sisters, made by sculptor Erik Blome that draws attention to their story and their place in Alexandria's history (City of Alexandria 2010). Louis Berger and Associates was given the 2009 Ben Brenman award for extraordinary efforts in archaeology by the

Alexandria Archaeology Commission (Alexandria Archaeology 2011). The statue is easily visible to pedestrians from the street (see Figure 39).



Figure 28: Statue of the Edmonson Sisters at 1701 Duke St. in Alexandria, VA. Author photo, 2010

St. Augustine: Cubo Line Reconstructions

In one sense, St. Augustine should be appreciated for having developed the most expansive reconstruction program of any of the three cities being discussed here. As explained in Chapter III, the city went through an extensive restoration campaign beginning in the 1930s and continuing until the 1980s. Of the buildings lining St. Georges St. only a handful, if any, can

claim not to have had their current appearance influenced by the archaeology that has been carried out in the city since the 1930s. Of the 29 buildings that were formerly owned by the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board in downtown St. Augustine, 23 are either reconstructions built on historic foundations or buildings constructed entirely from scratch in the St. Augustine colonial style, and those buildings that truly do date from the 18th or 19th centuries have had their pre-Restoration appearances modified to return to their historic norms (Word 2007). This represents a level of commitment to restoration and interpretation that few other communities have the financial resources, or the reason, to match. And while it may be the single largest reconstruction program of the three cities, and while it probably has had the largest impact on the lives of the average person living in the three cities, a smaller project might be more able to demonstrate how archaeological information can be re-integrated with the landscape in other communities.

When it served as a military post for the Spanish and the British in the 18th and 19th centuries, much of what is now the historic center of St. Augustine was surrounded by a defensive work called the Cubo Line (St. Augustine has served as a military post since 1565, the Cubo Line dates to 1706) (Chatelain 1941: 82). The line has, from the very beginning of the Carnegie work in the 1930s, been a central feature of study for archaeologists working in the city. In his 1941 publication which essentially closed the first phase of modern research efforts in St. Augustine, Verne Chatelain describes the situation of the Cubo line with respect to the Carnegie Institution's sponsored archaeological research:

The Cubo line...because it was in a sense protected by the fact of its being a part of a publicly owned strip of land, disappeared more slowly; and even yet there are traces of its moat and redoubts, and, of course, its coquina gates and walls near St. George Street. For these reasons, the exhaustive archaeological studies which have been made during the course of the investigations of the St. Augustine

Historical Program for the entire distance from the Castillo to the San Sebastian River have brought unusually satisfactory results, disclosing, as they do, the exact measurements, and also reasonably accurate information regarding the materials used in the construction of the line (Chatelain 1941: 87).

Not surprisingly, the reconstruction of at least some of the features associated with the Cubo Line had been contemplated since the earliest days of the restoration program; Chatelain's *Memorandum of Zoning under the Plan for the St. Augustine Restoration* includes "the restoration along the north side of this area of the moat features within the ancient defense line and the preservation of the ancient City Gates within the elliptical park area..." (Chatelain N.D.: 2).

When the restoration program picked back up in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the partial reconstruction of the Cubo Line was again included in the plans. The city's 1960 Comprehensive Plan viewed the re-establishment of the Line as essential to providing a picturesque gateway into the city's Spanish Quarter. A new entrance to the Spanish Quarter from U.S. Route 1 was expected to direct visitors to the Castillo San Marcos and the City Gates, and would lead to a visitors' center that would allow visitors to overlook the restored Cubo Line. The City anticipated altering Orange Street in order to carry out the reconstruction of the defensive wall. It also planned to acquire all property on the east side of US. 1, between Orange and Grove Streets, in order to improve the view of the Castillo, the City Gates, and the Cubo Line (City of St. Augustine 1960: 80).

There had always been a positive working relationship between the National Park Service, which owned the Castillo de San Marcos, and the city of St. Augustine's restoration efforts. As it turned out, the largest portion of the Cubo Line that would be reconstructed would be carried out on land owned by the National Park Service. In 1964, in conjunction with the

larger quadricentennial effort, the Park Service reconstructed the 250 ft. portion of the line that stretched from the Castillo to the city gates, although the line was interrupted to allow traffic to enter the city by route A1A, the access discussed in the 1960 comprehensive plan (Wright 1964). Rather than reconstructing the line from the original material, palm logs, the Park Service opted to instead build their reconstruction from concrete “logs” for sake of maintenance (see Figure 40) (Wright 1964).



Figure 29: The Cubo Line reconstruction, interpreted as the Town Wall. Author photo, 2010

The City would later take inspiration from the Park Service’s 1964 reconstruction when, beginning in the late 1990s, a group known as the Presidio Commission began planning for the reconstruction of the Santo Domingo redoubt (Guinta 2000; Thompson 1998). The redoubt was essentially an armed “point” along the Cubo line, which would have protruded beyond the line and allowed soldiers to shoot both along the wall and away from it. In 1995, Carl Halbirt and his crew of volunteers had begun excavating the site, identifying and working different sections as time and resources allowed (Thompson 1998; Guinta 2000). Along with the preserved palm logs

identifying the exact location of the of the redoubt, Halbirt and the volunteers found leather shoes, coins, bullets, and bone fragments, and the complete skeleton of a cow that had apparently received an unusually formal burial (Thompson 1998). In 2000 the city received a \$300,000 grant from the Florida Department of State to reconstruct the redoubt, and it was opened to the public in 2003 (see Figure 41) (Lewis 2003). It is now possible to stand at the Castillo de San Marcos and look westward, seeing the Cubo line, the City Gates, and the first of what would have been many redoubts, all more or less as they would have appeared when the Cubo line was last rebuilt in 1808 (Lewis 2003).



Figure 30: Reconstructed Santo Domingo Redoubt. Author photo, 2010

Phoenix: Hohokam Rock Art on Highway Overpasses

This project represents one of the most creative, and most visible, of the City of Phoenix's efforts to combine archaeology with city planning. It has transformed the traditionally utilitarian structures associated with highway overpasses and sound barriers into spaces to showcase the city's archaeological history. In most parts of the country these structures are undecorated gray concrete, but in the Phoenix area they are not only dyed to match the colors of the surrounding desert landscape, but are also imprinted with various designs that mirror those found in the ancient rock art of the city's South Mountain Park (see Figure 42). These designs have drawn praise through the years, including a 2002 piece by the current Attorney General for Arizona, Terry Goddard, and another piece in *Public Art Review* (Goddard 2002; Senie 2002). As it turns out, many of these designs were made available to the Department of Transportation through the Pueblo Grande Museum. Museum Director Roger Lidman recalled that:

Todd [Bostwick] has worked very closely with the head of the design section of the Department of Transportation for this region... his name is Joe Salazar, is regularly coming in here and meeting with us, primarily with Todd and...with Holly [Young] from the collections area, to look at designs and then incorporate those into the freeways, so yeah, anything you see out there has probably been influenced directly by Todd and the Museum in one way or another (Lidman 2010).

The city has also incorporated similar designs into the lamp posts that line North Central Avenue in Phoenix, in the section of the city that houses the Heard Museum and the Phoenix Museum of Modern Art (see Figure 43). The effect, again, is that while the city of Phoenix is almost entirely modern in its construction, it does have much older roots than may be readily apparent.



Figure 31: Hohokam rock art designs applied to highway overpass. Author image, 2010

Thus, the reconstruction of features discovered through archaeology, or the artistic interpretation of information gathered through archaeology, may easily and successfully be integrated with other efforts within the planning sphere. Those efforts may provide a distinguishing characteristic for a new development, may accentuate existing historical landscape features, or turn ordinary freeways into works of historical significance. These three examples demonstrate the wide variety of ways in which archaeological information may re-enter the built environment when it is thoughtfully considered.



Figure 32: Lamp posts featuring Hohokam designs. Author photo, 2010

Walks, Paths and Trails

One amenity which may have less to do with a community's archaeological sites themselves than with how they are presented and used by the public is the concept of the heritage trail, history walk, greenway, bike trail, or other type of "path" that connects different historical or archaeological sites. Within this context, archaeological and historical sites may be the central feature of the path or they may serve in an ancillary capacity, providing interest for an amenity built to showcase a community's environmental characteristics or to provide off-street transportation and recreational opportunities. At a local level, these paths may exist in the form of dedicated non-motorized routes, paved or unpaved, or they may be part of a more loosely defined trail system that is essentially defined by the points of interest – a path that may only be a path to those with the map, so to speak. Regardless of the form it takes, combining

archaeological interpretation with opportunities for walking, exercise and contemplation provides an amenity that meets many different community goals and can appeal to people on a variety of different levels.

Alexandria: Alexandria Heritage Trail

Alexandria provides an exceptional example of this principle, because the trail network that the city has developed through the years takes in so many different types of archaeological sites, and because it is clearly developed to facilitate physical activity, whether by foot or by bicycle. The Alexandria Heritage Trail (AHT) is significant because it takes advantage of the surrounding infrastructure, linking up with the Mount Vernon segment of the Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail System in particular, expanding the reach and usership of Alexandria's own Heritage Trail. The AHT is also significant for the role that the city's archaeology program played in its development; there are fifty-six stops identified on the map, and while not every stop included is an archaeological site, the trail does illustrate some of the fruits of the more than fifty years of archaeological protection, preservation, and research by the city's professional and avocational archaeologists.

There are many components to the AHT, the largest of which is the 23 mile loop that takes cyclists and pedestrians through Old Town Alexandria, and into the city's West End, returning eventually to Old Town and then back onto the Mount Vernon Trail. Major sites accessed along the loop include the pre-historic Native American site protected as the Stonegate archaeological preserve, Fort Ward Park, and the colonial era Cameron Run (Cressey 2002). Along with the loop, which is clearly geared more for bicycle use than pedestrian use, are ten shorter thematic walks ranging from less than a mile to roughly three and a half miles in length

(Cressey 2002: 6,7). The shorter trails include the “Canal Trail” which highlights the reconstructed Alexandria Canal (see Figure 44), the “Hayti Trail” which features several sites related to the free African-American neighborhood of Hayti, and the “Campaign Trail” which features as a highlight the former homes of Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon (Cressey 2002: 62,63).



Figure 33: Tide Lock Park, a stop on the city's Waterfront Walk. The park features a reconstructed canal lock, and the walk identifies several historic sites along the city's waterfront. Author image, 2010

One of the best descriptions of the Alexandria Heritage Trail comes from a 2005 memo by city manager James Hartmann encouraging the members of the Alexandria City Council to ask the National Park Service to designate the Alexandria Heritage Trail as part of the Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail System (PHNSTS). Hartmann described the trail as:

...a 23 mile route of designated on street and off street trails connecting over 50 historically significant cultural, archaeological and natural places throughout the City of Alexandria... These sites have been documented in the publication titled *Walk and Bike the Alexandria Heritage Trail* by City Archaeologist Pamela J. Cressey. These places provide valuable insight into the rich history of Alexandria while incorporating outdoor recreation (Hartmann 2005).

The nomination was successful, and the Alexandria Heritage Trail is now a part of the larger PHNSTS, drawing the attention of history enthusiasts from across the country. The trail system is highlighted on the National Park Service's PHNSTS website, and the full details of the Alexandria Heritage Trail, including the content of the interpretive signs placed throughout the trail network can be found on the Alexandria Archaeology Museum website (National Park Service 2011; Alexandria Archaeology 2011).

The creation of the Alexandria Heritage Trail represents not only the work of the city's archaeology staff, but also of others within the community. In the introduction to *Walk and Bike the Alexandria Heritage Trail*, David Chisman, of the group Friends of Alexandria Archaeology, traces the idea of developing a trail network for the city's archaeological sites to Ben Brenman, the former Chair of the Alexandria Archaeological Commission. Chan Mohny, of the Alexandria Bicycle Committee, is credited with beginning the "Tour de Digs" ride that helped to establish connections between the city's cyclists and its archaeologists. Clearly, through its communications with the Park Service, the City Council agreed that the Alexandria Heritage Trail was something that the whole community could be proud of.

Place Names

One final way in which archaeology can be integrated with planning efforts is as simple as naming parks, streets, alleys, buildings or other landscape objects in the landscape for historical figures who played a role in the development of that particular site. This is something that costs little or nothing to do, but that presents a real reminder of events or people whose existence may have been discovered through archaeology or through historical research. In some cases, places where existing streets have maintained their original names for example, those names may already provide clues to a city's past, and all that is left is to draw the public's attention to that fact. Oronoco Street in Old Town Alexandria is one example, Oronoco being the name of a variety of tobacco common in Virginia at the time Alexandria was laid out as a tobacco inspection station (Ragsdale 1989: 150). In other cases, the simple effort to reassign some connection between the modern name of a site, and its historic uses or owners may create the same kind of educational opportunity. Alexandria has made a point of naming public parks after their historical owners or occupants.

City archaeologist Pam Cressey gives much of the credit for this practice to the former chair of the Alexandria Archaeology Commission, Ben Brenman.

Ben had this plan that all the parks along the waterfront should have historic names. And so... when they created two new pocket parks, Lumley and Roberdeau, they got those names and they went to Council and said 'you need to have historic names.' And now they keep that up in all the waterfront stuff, and interestingly it came up again ...in the meeting last night where the arts commission and the planners say 'Well what is it what the history people want?' and they say 'well, historic names.' And so that is a little "Benism" from the Commission from the eighties, continuing on (Cressey 2010).

The "Roberdeau" in Roberdeau Park was Daniel Roberdeau, a Revolutionary War general who owned and operated a distillery complex on the site, which included a granary, a sail loft and a

cooper's shop, and the "Lumley" in Point Lumley was a captain who used to anchor just off shore (Cressey 2002: 27-29; Pulliam 2007: 1). The Point Lumley site itself, however, may be more significant than the captain's name, as it once formed the southernmost tip of Alexandria's crescent-shaped bay. The bay has since been filled in, and the name is essentially the only reminder of this formerly prominent geographic feature.

Conclusion

The three cities demonstrate that there are any number of ways in which archaeology may play a role in developing community assets and amenities. They may form the basis around which larger amenities are formed, such as is the case in Fort Ward Park or Fort Mose, they may be museums that serve a variety of community needs, or the information gathered through archaeology may be incorporated into new developments in ways complementary to the overall project goals, whether those goals are public or private in orientation. Archaeology may be used to encourage exercise and physical activity, it may provide a way to commemorate past events, distinguish one development from another, or provide a new building with historical roots.

By virtue of their large role in shaping the development review process, and because they are intimately involved with the decisions a city makes regarding transportation infrastructure, public park creation, and beautification efforts, local planning staff have a tremendous opportunity to provide their cities with multi-layered amenities that help to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the city's place in history and even of the relationship between the people and the space of the city itself. The abovementioned examples represent the ideas developed by only three cities. Surely this is a concept that would benefit from exploration under other geographic and cultural circumstances.

CONCLUSION

The need to understand the relationship between archaeology and local planning processes has never been greater than it is at present. The individuals responsible for guiding the country's longest-lived and arguably most successful municipal archaeology programs are approaching retirement, and when they leave their offices in Alexandria, St. Augustine, and Phoenix, decades of knowledge will leave with them. Because of the unique issues that face archaeologists working within local government, it is imperative that those interested in carrying on their legacy take the opportunity to learn from the experiences of these individuals while they are still available to discuss the unique nature of their work and their accomplishments.

Providing the history of these programs, explaining the mechanisms by which each protects its city's archaeological resources, and recognizing their major accomplishments, provides a starting point both for understanding their value to their home communities, and for determining how their experiences might benefit others. Of the lessons to be learned from the operational aspects of the programs, probably none is more readily apparent than the need for a strong relationship with the public. Each began with concerned citizens working to protect archaeological or historical resources that they risked losing, and continued to be supported by the public throughout their subsequent expansion. In Alexandria, the impending loss of Fort Ward, followed by the threat of losing the artifacts in the city's Urban Renewal sites, spurred Dorothy Starr and John Pickens, respectively, to rally the public for their defense. Later the "Committee of 100" reaffirmed the commitment Alexandrians had made to their city's archaeological resources. The Alexandria Archaeological Commission and the Friends of Alexandria Archaeology then took up that mantle, providing policy guidance and skilled labor for the program, working in close cooperation with the city's professional archaeology staff.

In St. Augustine, the volunteers who formed the St. Augustine Archaeological Association and worked with the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board archaeologists to excavate the Elixio de la Puente/Fiesta Mall site demonstrated to the city how such a public/private partnership might work. The same volunteers helped to create, and then lobbied for the adoption of, an ordinance linking archaeology to the development process. The SAAA was instrumental to the passage of the city's pioneering archaeological protection ordinance, for its refinement, and for its continued success. Without the volunteers, the program would not have the labor it needs to execute its archaeology ordinance.

In Phoenix, private residents were responsible for first purchasing the Pueblo Grande site for the city in 1924. As Phoenix grew throughout the 20th Century, and as the museum and the city's archaeology program expanded in the 80s and 1990s, the public played a key role in supporting the Pueblo Grande Museum and its archaeologists. Through their Indian Market, their support in developing the Museum's exhibitions, and their organization of other events, the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary has helped to fund museum activities and make the public aware of the city's archaeological resources since the late 1970s. Other groups associated with the Museum, including the Phoenix chapter of the Arizona Archaeological Society and the Pueblo Grande Mudslingers, provide opportunities for the public to become engaged with archaeology, either by receiving training and assisting archaeologists when needed, or by helping to keep the ruins stabilized for future generations to experience. These organizations help to make the city's archaeology program what it is today, and without their presence, the city would simply not be able to provide a comparable level of protection for its archaeological resources.

All of the archaeologists working in these programs are well aware of the debt that they owe to the public for its continued participation in their work, and they have all said as much. In

Alexandria, when asked about the role that the public played in the development of the city's archaeology program, Pam Cressey describes it as:

Everything. Everything. . . Half the stuff we do, more than half the stuff we do, I would never have thought of. Because I was an archaeologist... I had no experience in government. I didn't understand what you can do at a local level if you put your mind to it and come up with a vision and people jump on the bandwagon. And that has been revolutionary for me to see, and is really the ultimate power behind what we do (Cressey 2010).

Carl Halbirt in St. Augustine had a similar response when asked about how the city's archaeology program might be different if public engagement were not a goal:

I don't think you can have a program without public engagement. Because the public is an integral part of archaeology's viability. If you don't have public support, you don't have an archaeology program. . . The two need to go hand in hand, the public and archaeology (Halbirt 2010).

And Todd Bostwick, describing the importance of community engagement to the city's archaeology program in Phoenix:

...citizen involvement... is definitely a key part of it. It's not just having an ordinance or general plan. Those are the building blocks, but really the mortar -- if I were to use a poetic analogy -- is the community engagement and involvement. It's absolutely essential (Bostwick 2010).

Clearly, one lesson to take away from the experiences of these individuals in their work directing municipal archaeology programs is that they could not have accomplished what they have without whole-hearted participation by the public.

Another related lesson that the activities and accomplishments of these programs make apparent is that municipal archaeology programs cannot do their best work if they isolate themselves from other city departments, organizations, and private developers. They must seek out opportunities to work with others who do not come from an archaeological background, and who may not even consider archaeology to have bearing on their work. In Alexandria, the city's

program thrived for years before it adopted its archaeology protection code in 1989. It was able to do this because Cressey, Steve Shephard, Barbara Magid and other members of the city's archaeology staff worked with developers to arrange for archaeology to be done well in advance of ground-disturbing activities on the part of the developer. The knowledge, experience, and relationships gained during these years allowed the city to craft an archaeology ordinance that was integrated into the development process with minimal opposition from the development community. Working with developers as partners rather than treating them as adversaries ultimately paved a much smoother path for archaeological protection in Alexandria.

In St. Augustine, members of the archaeology program have continued to reach out to other groups in the community. Working cooperatively with developers, Halbirt, City Council, and the SAAA created the city's first archaeology easements. The St. Augustine program has also benefitted greatly from its relationship with the University of Florida's Kathleen Deagan, who frequently cooperates with Halbirt and members of the SAAA on her excavations and whose work played a significant role in the shape of the city's archaeology ordinance. Also important is the relationship between the city's archaeology program and the Florida Public Archaeology Network, which helps to perpetuate a culture of archaeological interest and responsibility both within St. Augustine and throughout the state of Florida.

In Phoenix, one of the archaeology program's greatest successes has been the degree to which other city departments now recognize their role in protecting archaeological resources. By providing training courses for other departments involved in ground disturbing activities, by working with the Planning Department to archaeology in the development review process, and by developing a close working relationship with the Historic Preservation department, Bostwick has been able to greatly amplify his voice in the activities of other city departments.

These relationships extend not only to other departments within city government, but also to tribal governments in the region, making sure that archaeological sites significant to the area's Native American communities are treated with respect when they are encountered through the development process. The General Burial Agreement is one example of this, as is the work Bostwick has done with the city's public information office to make sure that the local media do not write stories on burial sites that would include photographs or videos of the burial sites. Cooperation with multiple entities is a fundamental part of the success of the city's archaeology protection efforts.

In all three cities, the success of these relationships must be attributed to the ability of archaeology to contribute something that the other partner organization does not, or cannot do by itself. That contribution may come in the form of good publicity for a developer or for a city department. It may be that planning for archaeology helps a developer avoid unexpected complications later in the development review process. Archaeology may provide historical context or serve as an additional attraction for projects being carried out by recreation or transportation planners. It may do the same for a new development. It may provide for respectful treatment of burial sites, or take other shapes. However archaeology contributes to the work of others, it is clear that none of these three municipal archaeology programs works solely for its own benefit.

While the need for the involvement of private citizens and for developing relationships with other departments and organizations are two readily visible lessons that can be taken from the experiences of these three cities, there remain many other perspectives from which municipal archaeology programs should be explored. One of the most obvious is to ask what motivates local residents to become involved in municipal archaeology programs. There is no shortage of

competing activities or causes to which an individual might contribute his or her energies, and yet in each of these cities members of the public choose to spend their time researching, protecting, restoring, and memorializing archaeological sites and artifacts. Why do they do this? What benefits do they receive in exchange for their time, and what lessons do they see in the past that they want to communicate to other residents?

The activities carried out by these different programs and their volunteers suggest that community members are drawn to participate in their local archaeology programs for a wide variety of reasons. For some people, their involvement in these organizations may stem from curiosity about archaeology as a process, or it may be tied to questions of meaning – learning the story behind a place and of social relationships. Another perspective may have to do with achieving a measure of respect or even social justice for marginalized groups by drawing attention to the physical remains of the past and the lives they represent. Being able to accommodate the wide range of passionate interests that brings people to become involved with the archaeology of their own community is one of the most appealing strengths of the concept of municipal archaeology, and it deserves further exploration.

A related question would be to explore the social networks developed through municipal archaeology programs. These programs seem to have access to activities, processes and content that holds the attention of individuals of all ages, and from different ethnic and cultural groups. How might archaeology programs be understood in light of the ongoing discourse surrounding the concept of social capital? How do the social ties that municipal archaeology programs create compare to those formed through other local government or community-based activities, such as senior centers, libraries or youth sports leagues? In an era of economic austerity for many city programs, this type of information might help to draw attention to some of the less-visible, but

no less important contributions of archaeology programs to the process of establishing connections between people who belong to different “groups,” however defined.

Additional research might also devote more time to exploring the relationship between archaeology and other stakeholder groups beyond those who choose to participate as volunteers. Understanding the experiences of builders and developers as they encounter archaeological sites, either in communities with archaeological regulations in place, or in communities where there are no such regulations, would add an additional perspective to discussions of how archaeology re-enters the modern world. Native Americans represent another stakeholder group with respect to these regulations. Their response to, and role in, the development of regulations and policies that protect archaeological sites is another area for future research.

A related subject would be to explore more deeply the politics of how local governments determine which sites will be commemorated through monuments, plaques and parks, and which sites will be interpreted solely through an archaeological report. At some point, local residents or their representatives must still decide whose history is commemorated, whose is not, where that history will appear, and what form it will take. These are all political decisions, and the processes used to arrive at a particular course of action can shed a great deal of light on the relationship between heritage, authority and meaning.

Another readily apparent question that should be explored further is the relationship between municipal archaeology programs, or archaeology in general, and tourism. Each of the cities discussed here has a strong relationship with the tourism industry, and the archaeology programs develop content that features prominently in the promotional efforts of those cities. The Pueblo Grande Museum in Phoenix, Fort Ward in Alexandria, and the Visitor’s Information

Center in St. Augustine are all sites that hold prominent locations in their respective cities' tourism experiences, and which all prominently feature archaeology in their programming, but it is not clear how the presence of archaeology is likely to influence the behavior of tourists visiting a site. Nor is it clear just who archaeo-tourists are, or how their demographic and spending characteristics differ, if at all, from those of other heritage tourists or tourists in general. It could be that access to different levels of involvement in the archaeological process is more or less likely to appeal to different groups of visitors, or could encourage visitors to stay in the city for multiple days.

Determining the cumulative economic impact of archaeology on a community would be a difficult proposition. The information gathered through archaeology can find its way into many different features of a heritage tourism site, from interpretive signage to the activities of re-enactors, and this would likely make it impossible to identify all situations that are influenced by archaeology. Thus, a "total net benefit" approach might not be the most productive tack to take. But it is possible to learn more about the people who visit sites specifically identified in promotional literature as being archaeological in nature, or who participate in field schools, for example.

Still another area for future research would be to explore the relationship between archaeology and more traditional historic preservation departments, ordinances and organizations. Given that archaeology provides such an opportunity for developing the stories of the people who once lived in a community, it seems as though this should be a natural partnership. And yet in Alexandria and St. Augustine, the archaeological review processes seem to operate independently of, or at least are distantly connected with, the cities' historic preservation apparatus. Phoenix seems to have a closer relationship with the city's preservation

program, but even there archaeology could be more directly integrated into the city's preservation mechanisms. Gaining a better understanding of the reasons for this division could lead to more effective methods of integrating archaeology into the preservation framework already well established in municipalities across the country

Municipal archaeology programs have a great deal to offer their local communities and the allied fields that use the information recovered through archaeology. However, few people and fewer local governments are aware that the building sites within their own communities might be of significant archaeological value. With luck, the stories of how each of these three cities built their programs, and how they pair archaeology with local planning activities, will provide guidance and inspiration for the next generation of citizen activists, archaeologists, planners, historians, preservationists, and all others who seek to bridge the divide between past and present.

APPENDIX A

RESOLUTION 371 CREATING THE ALEXANDRIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMISSION

RESOLUTION NO. 371

WHEREAS, the City of Alexandria possesses a unique character and heritage that is desirable to preserve for this and future generations; and

WHEREAS, the archaeological efforts in the City to date have been carried forward to the best of the abilities of the few individuals involved; and

WHEREAS, it is desirable to expand the participation in these archaeological programs in order to establish goals and priorities and to preserve, promote and display the extraordinary artifacts which have been recovered and restored to date and which can be expected to be recovered in the future.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That there be established an Alexandria Archaeological Commission which shall be charged with the following responsibilities:

- (a) To establish goals and priorities with a view to excavating, preserving, and restoring and displaying the artifacts which contribute to the history and heritage of colonial, federal and historic Alexandria, historic Virginia and historic America.
- (b) To promote the archaeological programs of the City with the local, state and federal governments as well as the private foundations and the general public, and to seek support, financial and otherwise, to supplement or complement the City's program.
- (c) To promote and expedite the restoration and preservation of the historic artifacts recovered from the Gadsby, Market, and Bank blocks, the 300 and 400 blocks of King Street, and those to be recovered from the 500 block of King Street and the DIP Urban Renewal Project.
- (d) To promote and establish sites for the display of Alexandria artifacts.
- (e) To plan, develop, and recommend a ten-, five-, and two-year Archaeological Plan and Program for the City of Alexandria, to be submitted to the City Council and the City Manager.
- (f) In establishing goals and priorities, the Commission shall cause a Register to be made of all known lands in the City of Alexandria, whether public or private, known or believed to contain historical artifacts, and shall make recommendations concerning the excavation and preservation of historic artifacts contained thereunder. Any objects of monetary value found on private lands shall remain the property of the owner unless donated to the City. The City shall have the privilege of photographing such artifacts. The Commission shall cooperate with owners of private lands in all reasonable private attempts to excavate shafts and other areas on such lands.
- (g) To establish and implement, with the cooperation of local high schools and metropolitan colleges, programs whereby students could learn excavation, processing and restoration of artifacts as well as research and studies in local and metropolitan libraries, record rooms of courts and museums and other institutions of learning, early American and local history and the identification of artifacts and early craftsmen and colonial living (similar to the successful program conducted with George Washington University in the past) and receive high school and college credit.
- (h) To cooperate with the Bicentennial Program of the City of Alexandria and the program of the State of Virginia during the period 1974-1983 to assure its success.

- (i) To propose local ordinances and state statutes to the City Council and the City Manager to promote the goals and aims as set forth above.
- (j) To study and make recommendations to City Council with respect to additional activities involving the City's archaeological program and artifacts.

2. That the Commission shall be composed of:

- (a) Four members at large;
- (b) One citizen member from Planning District I;
- (c) One citizen member from Planning District II;
- (d) One citizen member from Planning District III; and
- (e) Three members to be nominated by the Alexandria Association, the Historic Alexandria Foundation and the Alexandria Historic Society, one from each organization

With ex-officio members as follows:

- (a) One representative of the Alexandria Tourist Council, and
- (b) One representative of the Alexandria Bicentennial Commission.

3. That the establishment of the Commission be publicized and all candidates for appointment submit their application to the City Clerk by the close of business March 19, 1975, for consideration by the City Council and appointment at the Second Regular Meeting in March. The initial terms of the members of the Commission shall be for two and three years, to be determined by lot, except that the Chairman and one member nominated by the Associations shall serve for four years. Thereafter, all terms shall be for four years.

4. That the City Council shall name the first Chairperson of the Commission and the Commission shall elect its own chairperson thereafter.

5. That the Commission is empowered to adopt rules and regulations in regard to procedure and other matters so long as the same are not inconsistent herewith, and including, but not limited to, the election of a Vice Chairperson and Secretary and the establishment of committees through which to carry out its functions and purposes.

6. That the Commission shall hold at least nine regular meetings each year, and as may special meetings each year as the Commission may deem advisable.

Adopted February 25, 1975

Helen Vickers, Clerk of the City of
Alexandria, Virginia

APPENDIX B

CURRENT TEXT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROTECTION CODE OF THE CITY OF
ALEXANDRIA

(Codified November 10, 2010)

[11-411 - Archaeological protection.](#)

(A)

Archaeological resource areas. A preliminary site plan which includes land designated as a potential resource area on the City of Alexandria Archaeological Resource Map, shall include reasonable archaeological evaluation reports and resource management plans when required under this section [11-411](#). The archeological resource map, which is on file in the office of the director of historic Alexandria and the office of the city archaeologist is hereby made a part of this ordinance.

(B)

Application. This section [11-411](#) shall apply to all applications for preliminary or combined site plan or other development approval, otherwise subject to its provisions, which are filed subsequent to September 16, 1989.

(C)

Administration. This section [11-411](#) shall be administered by the director of the office of historic Alexandria who may adopt reasonable procedures for its administration, consistent with applicable law.

(D)

Preliminary archeological assessment. Prior to filing an application for approval of a preliminary site plan to which this section [11-411](#) applies, the applicant shall confer with the director of the office of historic Alexandria in order for the director to conduct a preliminary assessment of the potential archaeological significance of any site plan area designated on the map, and of the impact of any proposed ground disturbing activities on such area. The applicant shall provide full and accurate information as to all ground disturbing activities proposed to be conducted on the site.

(E)

Criteria for preliminary assessment. Such preliminary archaeological assessment shall be based upon the following criteria, and shall be conducted consistent with professionally recognized standards for archaeological site evaluation:

(1)

Research value. The extent to which the archaeological data that might be contained on the property would contribute to the expansion of knowledge.

(2)

Rarity. The degree of uniqueness the property's resources possess and their potential for providing archaeological information about a person, structure, event or historical process, for which there are very few examples in Alexandria.

(3)

Public value. The level of importance the property has to the community as a location associated with a significant person, structure, event or historical process.

(4)

Site integrity. The extent to which soil stratigraphy and original placement and condition of archaeological resources on the property have not been disturbed or altered in a manner which appreciably reduces their research or public value.

(5)

Presence of materials. The extent to which archaeological resources or evidence of historic structures are present on the property.

(6)

Impact on resources. The extent to which any proposed ground disturbing activities will alter or destroy resources which the director has determined to have substantial archaeological significance under sections [11-411](#)(E)(1) through (5) above.

(F)

Finding of archeological significance.

(1)

If, at the conclusion of the preliminary archaeological assessment, the director of the office of historic Alexandria determines either that the site plan area has no substantial archaeological significance, or that the proposed construction or development will not have a substantial adverse

impact on any known or potential archaeological resources, the director of the office of historic Alexandria shall so certify to the planning commission, and no further review under this section [11-411](#) shall be required.

(2)

If, at the conclusion of the preliminary archaeological assessment, the director of the office of the historic Alexandria determines that the site plan area has potential archaeological significance, and that the proposed development will have a substantial adverse impact on any known or potential archaeological resources, the applicant shall submit an archaeological evaluation report and a resource management plan as part of the preliminary site plan application.

(3)

The director of the office of historic Alexandria shall render a determination in writing, within seven working days after receiving the information, unless written consent to extend such period is given by the applicant.

(G)

Archeological evaluation report and resource management plan.

(1)

When required under the provisions of this section [11-411](#), the applicant shall submit as part of the preliminary site plan application an archaeological evaluation report and a resource management plan, prepared by a qualified archaeologist or historian in conformity with professionally recognized standards for cultural resource management. The applicant or the authorized agent thereof shall confer with the director of the office of historic Alexandria prior to preparing any submission to define and agree upon guidelines for such report and plan.

(2)

Such archaeological evaluation report shall include detailed evaluation of the archaeological significance of the site plan area, including but not limited to reasonable measures for historic research, archaeological surveys and test excavations.

(3)

Such resource management plan shall include reasonable measures for the study and preservation of archaeological resources found within the site plan area, including but not limited to test and full-scale excavations, site construction monitoring, field recording, photography, laboratory analysis, conservation of organic and metal artifacts, curation of the collection (e.g., artifacts, notes, photographs) and preparation of reports.

(4)

Such resource management plan may, and if required by the planning commission or city council shall, also provide reasonable measures for further archaeological study, restoration, reconstruction, disposition of recovered artifacts to an appropriate public or private collection or museum, and *in situ* preservation of archaeological resources found within the site plan area.

(H)

Review of archeological evaluation report and resource management plan.

(1)

The archaeological evaluation report and resource management plan shall be reviewed and approved, disapproved or approved with modifications or conditions or both as part of the site plan review process.

(2)

In the event a site plan application and review is required exclusively on account of ground disturbing activities not otherwise subject to such application and review, then and in such an event, notwithstanding any other provisions of this ordinance, the required site plan application and review shall be limited to the purposes and requirements of this section [11-411](#), and the application fee shall be as prescribed pursuant to section [11-104](#)

APPENDIX C

ST. AUGUSTINE ARCHAEOLOGY ORDINANCE

ARCHAEOLOGY ORDINANCE

Chapter 6 Archaeological Preservation

***Cross references:** Buildings and building regulations, Ch. 8; environmental protection, Ch. 11; planning and development, Ch. 21; subdivisions, Ch. 23; zoning, Ch. 28.

State law references: Municipal Home Rule Powers Act, F.S. ch. 166.

Sec. 6-1. Title.

This chapter shall be known and cited as the City of St. Augustine Archaeological Preservation Ordinance.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-1)

Sec. 6-2. Findings.

It is the finding of the city commission that St. Augustine, as the oldest permanent European settlement within the United States of America, contains many areas that are historically and archaeologically important to the citizens of this city and the United States, from all periods of its history, including pre-Columbian Indian villages, the original Spanish settlements on the mainland and the Anastasia Island portion of the city, British settlements, fortifications and other settlements and developments from the Second Spanish period, the American Territorial period and the preCivil War period. Further, in the preservation and understanding of the historical importance of St. Augustine, there is generally a direct relationship of archaeology to the economic well-being of the city and the present and future needs, public health, safety, morals and general welfare of its citizens and its visitors. Further, there is an educational value and benefit to the city that would result from a viable program of archaeological activities and the preservation of related resources.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-2)

Sec. 6-3. Definitions.

The following words, terms and phrases, when used in this chapter, shall have the meanings ascribed to them in this section, except where the context clearly indicates a different meaning:

Archaeological site means a property or location which has yielded or may yield information on the city's history or prehistory. Archaeological sites may be found within archaeological zones, historic sites, historic districts, private properties, city properties and other areas of the city. Archaeological sites are evidenced by the presence of artifacts and features below the ground surface indicating the past use of a location by people.

Archaeological zone means a geographical area which has or may reasonably be expected to yield information on local history or prehistory based upon broad prehistoric or historic settlement patterns and existing archaeological knowledge.

Artifact means objects which are a product of human modification or objects which have been transported to a site by people. In this city, artifacts over fifty (50) years old are protected by this chapter.

City archaeologist means the individual with general responsibility for assessing the archaeological resources of the city and directing, conducting or coordinating the monitoring, testing or salvage archaeology excavations of these resources. The individual may either be a city employee, employed by the city manager, or may be an individual or corporation employed by the city on a contract basis.

Cultural or historic resource means any prehistoric or historic district, site, building, object or other real or personal property of historical, architectural or archaeological value. The properties may include, but are not limited to, monuments, memorials, Indian habitations, ceremonial sites, abandoned settlements, sunken or abandoned ships, engineering works, treasure troves, artifacts or other objects with intrinsic historical or archaeological value, or any part thereof relating to the history, government and culture of the city, the state or the United States of America.

Delay period means the total number of calendar days (expressed in terms of weeks), such that the delay period is comprised of consecutive calendar days prior to commencement of a disturbance, plus the total number of calendar days subsequent to the commencement of a disturbance, during which testing or salvage archaeology efforts may be performed by the city archaeologist at an archaeology site, such that commencement or continuation of the disturbance and related construction work cannot otherwise proceed on the disturbance.

Disturbance means the cumulative digging, excavating, site preparation work or other such construction activities, regardless of the number of individual excavation or construction areas, related to an archaeological site.

Disturbance, major, means a disturbance that:

- (1) Occurs at a non-single-family residential property.
- (2) Occurs at locations more than three (3) inches below the adjacent surrounding ground surface.
- (3) Encompasses a combined area of two hundred fifty (250) square feet or more.

Disturbance, minor, means a disturbance that:

- (1) Occurs at a non-single-family residential property.
- (2) Occurs at locations more than three (3) inches below the adjacent surrounding ground surface.
- (3) Encompasses a combined area of less than two hundred fifty (250) square feet but equal to or greater than one hundred (100) square feet.

In addition, the term "minor disturbance" shall be defined to mean a disturbance that occurs at a single-family residential property and occurs at locations three (3) inches or more below the surrounding ground surface and encompasses combined areas of one hundred (100) square feet or more.

Disturbance, unrelated, means a disturbance that:

- (1) Occurs at locations from the ground surface to a maximum of three (3) inches below the adjacent surrounding ground surface.
- (2) Encompasses a combined area of less than one hundred (100) square feet.
- (3) Is not defined under "major disturbance" or "minor disturbance."

Land includes the word "marsh," "water" or "swamp."

Map means the archaeological base map of the city.

Monitoring means the observation after commencement of a disturbance to determine if archaeological resources exist in an area or, when such resources are known to exist, the observation, recording and incidental recovery of site features and materials to preserve a record of the affected portion of the site. Monitoring is applicable in locations where sites or features may occur but are generally not expected to be of such importance, size or complexity as to require lengthy work or project delays for salvage archaeology.

Project cost means either the estimated costs of construction, improvements or other related expenses, that are submitted by the applicant and used as the basis for calculation of prescribed building permit fees, or the estimated costs of construction, improvements or other related expenses, that are submitted by the applicant relative to a utility or right-of-way permit project, provided that the city, during its review of the archaeology application and the estimated costs, finds the proposed costs to be reasonably accurate.

Salvage archaeology means the archaeological excavation of a proposed disturbance (or a portion thereof) prior to its destruction by construction, or any other form of site disturbance. Salvage archaeology shall be concentrated only within the confines of the disturbance areas, in order to save site data which otherwise would be lost due to the disturbance. The extent of the salvage archaeology will be dependent on the proposed area of construction or disturbance, the estimated significance of the site and archaeological resources, the costs of the archaeology efforts and the availability of fees as hereinafter provided, the availability of general fund revenue budgeted for archaeology programs, time constraints, the degree of evidence of archaeological resources, and the recommendations of the city archaeologist relative to the need for the archaeology efforts.

Testing means the limited subsurface excavation or remote sensing of a proposed disturbance (or a portion thereof) to determine the potential, type or extent of the archaeological site. Testing may include augering and establishing archaeological excavation units and will include the screening of excavated material for artifact recovery.

Used or occupied includes the words "intended, designed or arranged to be used or occupied." (Code 1964, § 5 1/2-3)

Cross references: Definitions and rules of construction generally, § 1-2.

Sec. 6-4. Archaeological zones.

In order to regulate and restrict subsurface disturbances as provided in this chapter, and to determine the extent and scope of work for archaeological investigations and excavations that may be required at a given archaeological site, the incorporated area of the city is hereby divided into zones as shown on the archaeological base map entitled "Archaeological Base Map For St. Augustine, Florida," and such map is hereby declared to be a part of this chapter. The zones, as delineated on the base map, are described as follows, with titles and abbreviations as indicated:

(1) Archaeological Zone Number I relates to areas containing the most significant archaeological sites in the city and includes the following subzones: Archaeological Zone I-A consists of an area containing historic resources from the 17th to the 20th centuries, including the Cubo Line west to Ponce de Leon Boulevard, and limited prehistoric

resources. Archaeological Zone I-B consists of an area containing historic resources from the 16th through the 20th centuries, specifically including the earliest areas of the downtown portion of the city. Archaeological Zone I-C consists of an area containing historic resources from the 17th to the 20th centuries; Archaeological Zone I-D consists of an area containing the original settlement of St. Augustine in 1565 and important Indian mission settlements and prehistoric sites. Archaeological Zone I-E consists of an area containing the site of Ft. Mose.

(2) Archaeological Zone Number II relates to areas containing important known archaeological sites and includes the following subzones: Archaeological Zone II-A consists of an area containing portions of Hospital Creek, numerous prehistoric and historic Indian sites, farmsteads, plantations and possible military sites. Archaeological Zone II-B consists of an area containing the Lincolnville Dump area on the edge of Maria Sanchez Lake; Archaeological Zone II-C consists of an area containing the Pocotalaca Indian Mission; Archaeological Zone II-D consists of an area containing the Palica Indian Mission; Archaeological Zone II-E consists of an area containing the Tolomato Mission; Archaeological Zone II-F consists of an area containing the Tolomato Cemetery; Archaeological Zone II-G consists of an area containing the Ft. Mose Line and other fortifications and the Fairbanks Plantation site; and Archaeological Zone II-H consists of an area containing Old Quarry Road.

(3) Archaeological Zone Number III relates to areas having a high potential for historic/prehistoric archaeological sites and contains the following subzones: Archaeological Zone III-A consists of an area containing the Lincolnville portion of the city; Archaeological Zone III-B consists of an area containing portions of Anastasia Island; Archaeological Zone III-C consists of an area containing Oyster Creek; and Archaeological Zone III-D consists of an area containing portions of the eastern edge of the San Sebastian River, west of the FEC Railroad, north of SR 16.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-4)

Editor's note: It should be noted that Ord. No. 98-24, adopted Sept. 14, 1998, amended the Archaeological Base Map for St. Augustine, Florida.

Sec. 6-5. Interpretation of zone boundaries.

Where uncertainty exists as to the boundaries of zones as shown on the archaeological base map for the city, the following rules shall apply:

- (1) Boundaries indicated as approximating centerlines of streets, highways or alleys shall be construed to follow such centerlines.
- (2) Boundaries indicated as approximately following platted lot lines shall be construed to follow such lot lines.
- (3) Boundaries indicated as approximately following city limits shall be construed to follow such city limits.
- (4) Boundaries indicated as following railway lines shall be construed to be midway between the main tracks.
- (5) Boundaries indicated as following shorelines shall be construed to follow such shorelines. In the event of a change in shorelines, the boundaries shall be construed to move with the change except where such moving would change the archaeological status of a lot or parcel; in such case the boundary shall be interpreted in such a manner as to avoid changing the archaeological status of such lot or parcel.

(6) Boundaries indicated as parallel to or extensions of beaches indicated in subsections (1) through (5) above shall be so construed. The distance not specifically indicated on the archaeological base map shall be determined by the scale of the map.

(7) Where physical or cultural features existing on the ground are not in agreement with those shown on the archaeological base map, or in other circumstances not covered by subsections (1) through (6) above, the city archaeologist shall make recommendations concerning the interpretation of the zoning boundaries for the city's approval.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-5)

Sec. 6-6. Zone regulations.

(a) Within Archaeological Zones I, II or III, any proposed major or minor disturbance which requires a building permit, a city utility permit or a city right-of-way permit shall be subject to a review of the proposed disturbance, before such disturbance takes place, by the city based on an application form (archaeological review application) to be prescribed by the city manager. No building, right-of-way or utility permit will be issued by the city until the archaeology application has been submitted and the applicable archaeology fees have been paid. The archaeological review shall result in the determination of proposed archaeology efforts on the site and the application shall then be made a part of the city's prescribed permitting process. Only those disturbances that require a city building, utility or right-of-way permit will be governed by this chapter and, in addition, unrelated disturbances will not be applicable to this chapter. Furthermore, this chapter will apply only to the areas within the boundaries and confines of the proposed disturbances and any archaeology efforts shall be conducted so as not to cause any unnecessary damage to adjacent areas of the property. Any archaeology work proposed by the city concerning disturbances not relevant to this chapter may be conducted only based on written permission from the property owner to the city.

(b) Disturbances applicable to this chapter shall be in compliance with the following regulations:

(1) Within Archaeological Zone I, any major disturbance shall be subject to intensive salvage archaeology prior to the commencement of the disturbance, building construction, or utility excavation, by the city archaeologist. After the disturbance has commenced, it shall be subject to monitoring during construction to provide data and to determine the presence of further or additional resources and, then, either testing or salvage archaeology may be conducted, as recommended by the city archaeologist and approved by the city.

(2) Within Archaeological Zone II, any major disturbance shall be subject to testing prior to the commencement of the disturbance. If it is determined that there will be a significant archaeological impact from the proposed disturbance, or if the testing reveals that significant archaeological resources may exist, then salvage archaeology may also be conducted prior to commencement of the disturbance, as recommended by the city archaeologist and approved by the city. In addition, after the disturbance has commenced, it shall be subject to monitoring during construction to provide field data and to determine the presence of further or additional resources and, then, testing may again be conducted, as recommended by the city archaeologist and approved by the city.

(3) Within Archaeological Zone III, any major disturbance shall be subject to testing prior to the commencement of the disturbance. If it is determined that there will be a

significant archaeological impact from the proposed disturbance, or if the testing reveals that significant archaeological resources exist, then salvage archaeology may also be conducted prior to commencement of the disturbance, as recommended by the city archaeologist and approved by the city. In addition, after the disturbance has commenced, it shall be subject only to monitoring during construction to provide additional field data.

(4) Within Archaeological Zone I, any minor disturbance shall be subject to testing prior to the commencement of the disturbance. If it is determined that there will be a significant archaeological impact from the proposed disturbance, or if the testing reveals that significant archaeological resources exist, then salvage archaeology may also be conducted prior to commencement of the disturbance, as recommended by the city archaeologist and approved by the city. In addition, after the disturbance has commenced, it shall be subject only to monitoring during construction to provide additional field data.

(5) Within Archaeological Zones II and III, minor disturbances shall be subject only to testing prior to commencement of the disturbance and only to monitoring after commencement of the disturbance by the city archaeologist.

(6) Within Archaeological Zones I, II and III, any changes in construction plans or documents (based on those formally approved by the city during the city's application review process) that identify additional or modified disturbance areas may necessitate or allow additional considerations, fees and actions by the city, in accordance with provisions of this chapter.

(7) Within Archaeological Zone I, the city will impose a delay period for any proposed disturbance (or portion thereof) for a minimum of four (4) weeks for a major disturbance and a maximum of four (4) weeks for a minor disturbance, in order to conduct the appropriate archaeology efforts. If more time is required relative to a major disturbance, the city archaeologist may request from the city manager up to four (4) additional two-week periods, to be reviewed and granted individually. The applicant shall be provided copies of these requests when they are submitted to the city manager and the additional delay period reviews shall include the applicant, at the applicant's request. After a total of twelve (12) weeks of delays for a major disturbance, the city archaeologist may request that the city manager grant additional two-week periods, provided that written permission for the delays is granted by the property owner.

(8) Within Archaeological Zone II, the city will impose a delay period for any proposed disturbance (or portion thereof) for a minimum of four (4) weeks for a major disturbance and a maximum of three (3) weeks for a minor disturbance, in order to conduct the appropriate archaeology efforts. If more time is required relative to a major disturbance, the city archaeologist may request from the city manager two (2) additional two-week periods, to be reviewed and granted individually. The applicant shall be provided copies of these requests when they are submitted to the city manager and the additional delay period reviews shall include the applicant, at the applicant's request. After a total of eight (8) weeks of delays for a major disturbance, the city archaeologist may request that the city manager grant additional two-week periods, provided that written permission for the delays is granted by the property owner.

(9) Within Archaeological Zone III, the city will impose a delay period for any proposed disturbance (or portion thereof) for a minimum of two (2) weeks for a major disturbance and a maximum of two (2) weeks for a minor disturbance, in order to conduct the appropriate archaeology efforts. If more time is required relative to a major disturbance,

the city archaeologist may request from the city manager two (2) additional one-week periods, to be reviewed and granted individually. The applicant shall be provided copies of these requests when they are submitted to the city manager, and the additional delay period reviews shall include the applicant, at the applicant's request. After a total of four (4) weeks of delays for a major disturbance, the city archaeologist may request that the city manager grant additional one-week periods, provided that written permission for the delays is granted by the property owner.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-6)

Sec. 6-7. Excavations on public property.

No individual shall be allowed to use a probe, metal detector or any other device to search or excavate for artifacts on public property, nor can any individual remove artifacts from public property without the written permission of the city. Furthermore, no disturbances or construction activities shall be authorized within properties belonging to the city, including public streets and rights-of-way, without a city right-of-way permit and without such archaeology efforts as may be addressed by this chapter. Any proposed archaeological work and delays relative to a disturbance or construction work shall be in accordance with provisions of this chapter relative to major and minor disturbances in Archaeological Zones I, II and III.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-7)

Sec. 6-8. Fees.

(a) For the purposes of funding the city's archaeology program there shall be added to the fees collected for each applicable building, utility and right-of-way permit issued within Archaeological Zone I a nonrefundable minimum archaeology fee of one and one-half (1 1/2) percent of the estimated project cost for which the permit is issued. In addition, there shall be added to the fees assessed for each applicable building, utility and right-of-way permit issued within Archaeological Zone II a nonrefundable minimum archaeology fee of one and one-fourth (1 1/4) percent of the estimated project cost for which the permit is issued. In addition, there shall be added to the fees assessed for each applicable building, utility and right-of-way permit issued within Archaeological Zone III a nonrefundable minimum archaeology fee of one (1) percent of the estimated project costs for which the permit is issued. Following calculation of the percentage-based archaeology fees for Zones I, II and III, as herein defined, and if such fees are less than fifty dollars (\$50.00), then the minimum fee shall be adjusted to the fifty-dollar amount. If the percentage-based archaeological fees exceed twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000.00), the applicant shall be required to pay twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000.00) at the time of application for the permit. In the event that the actual city costs expended in the archaeological efforts, as described in subsection (b) hereof, exceed twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000.00), the city shall submit a statement for such services to the applicant which shall include wages of city employees for time spent on site, reasonable fees for use of city equipment, and costs of outside labor and services at the actual rate billed to the city, and the additional amount expended by the city and billed shall be paid to the city prior to final issuance of a building permit for the subject property.

(b) In the event that archaeology efforts, including research, testing, salvage archaeology, monitoring, analysis, curation, conservation, cataloging, recording, storage, reports and other related archaeology services are proposed to be performed by the city archaeologist, either prior to, during or after the conduct of any construction or disturbance, and the total estimated costs related thereto are in excess of the minimum archaeology fees prescribed herein, the city archaeologist shall request approval of the estimated additional costs for the archaeology efforts and, based on approval of the city manager, the city shall require the applicant to deposit with the city additional fees equal to the additional costs. Any of the additional fees not actually expended in the conduct of such research, testing, salvage archaeology, monitoring, analysis, curation, conservation, cataloging, recording, storage and reports, shall be returned to the applicant by the city at the time of final disposition of the work by the city archaeologist.

(c) As an alternative to paying the above described archaeology fees, a qualified applicant (qualified applicant is any applicant that is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit corporation authorized to do business in the State of Florida and is an entity engaged in the preservation of historical and archaeological resources of the St. Augustine area and has shown a demonstrated ability to conserve and display various aspects of historical resources of the St. Augustine area in a venue tantamount to a museum setting and said venue is accessible to the general public for a fee and said venue is licensed to do business in the City of St. Augustine), for a building permit may pay fifty (50) percent of the archaeology fee as determined in accordance with this article for administration by the city archaeologist, if the applicant desires to privately contract with a member of the Registry of Professional Archaeologists to perform archaeology efforts, including research, testing, salvage archaeology, monitoring, analysis, curation, conservation, cataloging, recording, storage, reports and other related archaeology services in accordance with the following criteria:

- (1) A scope of services is submitted to and approved by the city archaeologist prior to performing any archaeological efforts to ensure compliance with the comprehensive plan and the City Code;
- (2) The scope of services contains a work schedule that details the archaeological efforts and the time frame for excavation to ensure close monitoring by the city archaeologist and a condition that all reports and other documents are property of the city; and
- (3) The applicant ensures compliance with the scope of services via enforceable contract with the selected archaeologist, and stipulates to allowing the city archaeologist to issue a stop work order when noncompliance is observed.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-8; Ord. No. 96-48, § 1, 9-9-96; Ord. No. 00-08, § 1, 3-13-00; Ord. No. 04-22, § 1, 11-8-04)

Sec. 6-9. Ownership of artifacts.

(a) All artifacts uncovered, recovered or discovered during the course of any testing, salvage archaeology or monitoring, as provided herein, on private property shall belong to the owner of the property upon which such artifacts are found. Likewise, artifacts uncovered, recovered or discovered during testing, salvage archaeology or monitoring on property belonging to the city shall belong to the city. However, the city shall retain possession of artifacts from private property for a period of up to two (2) years to allow for their proper analysis, cataloging, recording, and conservation, with written permission

of the owner. Furthermore, the city shall attempt to obtain written permission from property owners to secure permanent ownership of the artifacts; otherwise, all retained artifacts are then to be returned to the property owner as soon as such analysis, cataloging, recording, and conservation is completed. Individuals and property owners are strongly urged to donate archaeological artifacts to the city for long-term storage, care, protection and preservation.

(b) The removal of human skeletal remains recovered in archaeological context in all instances shall be coordinated with the local medical examiner, city, the city archaeologist and the state archaeologist. Such remains shall be dealt with in accordance with provisions of F.S. ch. 872 and they are not subject to private ownership. Such material shall be sensitively treated and, following their analysis by a physical anthropologist, shall be curated at a designated repository or appropriately reburied. If at all possible, human burials should not be removed and they should be left undisturbed in their original position.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-9)

Sec. 6-10. Curation of artifacts.

Artifacts from monitoring, salvage archaeology and testing efforts will be washed, catalogued, analyzed, recorded and conserved by the city archaeologist in compliance with the U.S. Department of Interior curation standards, with written permission of the owner. If the artifacts are permanently donated to the city they will be properly preserved and stored. The city will be responsible for determining the approved and acceptable repository for artifacts from the archaeological program in the city and the city will strive to maintain consistency in curation procedures and storage of materials in a minimal number of locations.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-10)

Sec. 6-11. City archaeologist.

(a) The city manager shall appoint a city archaeologist who shall meet the city's requirements and the standards for membership by the Society of Professional Archaeologists and shall have a demonstrated background in historic and prehistoric archaeology.

(b) The city archaeologist shall work at the direction of the city manager and shall:

(1) Review all applicable building, utility and right-of-way permit applications in Archaeological Zones I, II and III.

(2) Submit project cost proposals, recommendations and requests, as required, to the city manager, or his designee.

(3) Conduct such testing, salvage archaeology or monitoring as shall be addressed by this chapter.

(4) Prepare or oversee preparation and submittal of a final report on all projects, which report shall be consistent with the scope of each project and shall meet the general guidelines established for archaeological reports by the department of state, division of historical resources.

(5) Record completed archaeology projects with the Florida Master Site file.

(c) In addition, the city archaeologist may, as directed by the city manager:

(1) Conduct archaeological site surveys within the city.

- (2) Develop strategies for preservation of the archaeological resources of the city.
- (3) Work with property owners during the planning stage of projects applicable to this chapter in order to minimize the potential impact on archaeological sites.
- (4) Advise the city manager concerning archaeological issues.
- (5) Undertake or be involved in other specific city archaeology projects.
- (6) Carry out public archaeology programs for the education and benefit of the citizens and visitors to the city.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-11)

Sec. 6-12. Grievance procedure.

An appeal of any portion of this chapter may first be brought before the city manager and then before the city commission.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-12)

Sec. 6-13. Commencement of delay period and archaeological work.

(a) The delay period for any proposed project requiring compliance with this chapter shall be considered to begin:

(1) Forty-eight (48) hours after the payment of archaeology fees and the issuance of the building, utility or right-of-way permit; or

(2) After the resolution of any appeal;
whichever is greater.

(b) Within a reasonable time after commencement of the delay period, and prior to a disturbance, the city must formally notify the applicant in writing if salvage archaeology or testing efforts will be conducted by the city and, if so, that, in accordance with provisions of the delay period, the disturbance may not proceed until the archaeological work is completed or the delay period has expired, whichever occurs first.

(c) The city may, however, reserve a maximum of twenty-five (25) percent of any applicable delay period to undertake further or additional salvage archaeology or testing efforts after the commencement of a disturbance, in accordance with the zone regulations and other provisions of this chapter, provided that less than seventy-five (75) percent of the delay period has expired or was actually expended prior to commencement of the disturbance. In such instances, the city may formally notify the applicant in writing at any time that the salvage archaeology or testing work will be conducted and that, in accordance with provisions of the delay period, the disturbance may not proceed or it must cease until the work is complete or the delay has expired, whichever occurs first.

(d) Proposed salvage archaeology and testing efforts may be commenced prior to the issuance of the applicable city permit, based on a written request or written approval from the applicant, provided that the archaeology fees have been paid and the project construction plans are in sufficient detail to accurately define the boundaries of the disturbance areas. If any design or location changes to the project disturbance areas occur after the archaeology efforts have begun, additional fees and salvage archaeology or testing efforts may be required and assessed accordingly. The commencement of archaeology efforts prior to the issuance of the applicable city permit will not alter the delay period or its beginning time as provided in this chapter.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-13)

Sec. 6-14. Penalty for violation.

Any violation of this chapter shall be punished as provided in section 1-8 of this Code.

(Code 1964, § 5 1/2-14)

APPENDIX D

CITY OF PHOENIX BURIAL AGREEMENT

City of Phoenix Burial Agreement

BURIAL DISCOVERIES ON CITY OF PHOENIX LANDS FOR PROJECTS CONDUCTED BY THE CITY OF PHOENIX

This agreement is intended to facilitate compliance with A.R.S. §41-844 and A.R.S. §41-865 on projects initiated and conducted by the City of Phoenix, and on property held by the City of Phoenix. The terms of this agreement will be interpreted and implemented in a manner consistent with terms, definitions, and principles provided in A.R.S. §41-844 and 41-865, Rules revised November 20, 1991, and current Guidelines issued by the Coordinator, ASM.

Tribes claiming affinity with native cultural traditions in the City of Phoenix are the Gila River Indian Community (GRIC), the Ak-Chin Indian Community (Ak-Chin), the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community (SRPMIC), the Tohono O'odham Nation (TON), Zuni Pueblo (Zuni), the Hopi Tribe (Hopi), and the Fort McDowell Mohave-Apache Indian Community (Fort McDowell). These groups will be referred to collectively in this document as the Tribes. The SRPMIC represents these tribes, with the exception of the Apache, in cases north of Baseline Road and the GRIC represents them south of that line. Fort McDowell is responsible for consultations regarding Apache Remains.

I. DISCOVERY OF REMAINS

A. Projects Expected to Discover Remains

1. The Coordinator, ASM; the Tribes; and the City of Phoenix agree that when the City of Phoenix plans archaeological or other undertakings believed likely to discover Remains, the Coordinator will be notified.

The Coordinator will consult the SRPMIC or GRIC, Fort McDowell, and the City of Phoenix to assess whether a project-specific agreement is needed, or whether work should proceed under the terms of this general agreement. Fort McDowell will determine whether the project area is known to them as one likely to contain Remains associated with the Apache cultural tradition. If the Coordinator considers this likely, further consultation will include Fort McDowell.

2. If it is decided that a project will be administered under this agreement, the City of Phoenix will notify the Coordinator prior to initiating fieldwork (in individual phases, if appropriate), and will notify the Coordinator that the agreement has been activated by an initial discovery. After that initial discovery, individual burials will not require notice to the Coordinator. Instead, a letter indicating total numbers of burials and confirming compliance with the terms of the agreement will be submitted to the Coordinator within 30 days of completing compliance

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with the terms of the agreement (normally, the time at which remains are repatriated to the appropriate tribe).

The coordinator will be notified and will initiate consultation regarding individual

cases in which cultural association is uncertain or is known to be of a tradition not claimed by the Tribes.

B. Unexpected Discoveries

The coordinator, ASM; the Tribes; and the City of Phoenix agree that the following provisions and procedures will apply in any case of inadvertent and unexpected discovery of Remains as a consequence of a City of Phoenix undertaking or on City of Phoenix property:

1. When remains or objects that may be subject to A.R.S. §41-844 or 41-865 are discovered, the City of Phoenix is authorized to undertake limited additional excavation and examination to assess whether the materials are within the protected classes of remains and objects, prior to notification of the Coordinator and claimants.
2. If the City of Phoenix and its contractors are unable to determine whether materials are Remains protected under the statutes, the Coordinator will be notified and will make this determination, with the assistance of specialists as needed.
3. The City of Phoenix will notify the Coordinator (if not already consulted) and the SRPMIC or GRIC of the discovery within 24 hours of confirmation that the discovery falls within the protected classes. If the Remains are of Apache origin, or are not clearly identifiable as belonging to a cultural tradition other than Apache, Fort McDowell will also be notified by the City of Phoenix.
4. If it is determined that the Remains represent a cultural tradition not claimed by the SRPMIC or GRIC or Fort McDowell, the Coordinator will undertake notification and consultation of appropriate parties.
5. If efforts to contact the SRPMIC or GRIC, Fort McDowell, and the Coordinator are unsuccessful, and Remains are endangered by human or natural action, the City of Phoenix is authorized to proceed with removal of the Remains to a local laboratory for their protection. Written notice of this action must be provided to the SRPMIC or GRIC, and to Fort McDowell when there is reason to believe that the remains may be Apache in origin, and to the Coordinator within 3 days of removal.

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II. TREATMENT AND DISPOSITION OF REMAINS

The following provisions for the treatment and disposition of Remains reference the SRPMIC or GRIC. However, when Remains are of Apache origin “Fort McDowell” will be substituted for “SRPMIC or GRIC” in all provisions below.

Unless otherwise agreed between the City of Phoenix, the Tribes, and the ASM Coordinator, the treatment and disposition of Human Remains shall be as follows:

1. All discovered Remains shall be treated with respect and dignity in order to avoid any unnecessary disturbance of Remains, separation of Human Remains from their Associated Funerary Objects, or physical modification of Human Remains.
2. Whenever possible, Remains will be protected in place. The SRPMIC or GRIC will be consulted regarding whether the security of the location is adequate.
3. If avoidance and protection of Remains is not possible, removal will proceed

according to the following provisions:

- a. Representatives of the SRPMIC or GRIC shall have the opportunity to be present during the excavation of the Remains. The City of Phoenix will provide to the SRPMIC or GRIC an opportunity to examine the Remains prior to removal and to conduct traditional activities, if this is feasible without delay that would endanger those Remains.
- b. Remains will be excavated in accordance with the provisions and standards of the Arizona Antiquities Act and implementing Rules, and of Guidelines current at the time of the discovery.
- c. Remains and associated objects may be transported to an archaeological laboratory within the Phoenix metropolitan area (including incorporated cities adjacent to Phoenix) for archaeological inventory and description. Under no circumstance will Remains or associated Objects be taken out of the State of Arizona. Transport of Remains will be minimized.
- d. No destructive analysis of Human Remains shall be permitted except with written authorization of all claimant Tribes, with a copy of their authorizations to the Coordinator.
- e. **Photographs of human remains may not be taken** under any circumstances. Photographs of burial locations and of Associated Objects can be taken and can be used in publications with permission so long as no human remains are
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visible in the photograph. However, SRPMIC and GRIC prefer that sketches of Associated Objects be used instead of photographs. No human remains may be used in public displays.

4. Representatives of the claimant Tribes shall be afforded the opportunity to review all artifact collections and records resulting from activities of the City of Phoenix and their contractors in order to identify funerary or Sacred Objects. If such objects are identified, the Coordinator will be notified by the Tribes and consultation regarding their treatment and disposition will be initiated.
5. Copies of all publications arising from archaeological activities in the project area shall be provided to the Coordinator, ASM, and to the Tribes by the City of Phoenix. An inventory of all Remains repatriated shall be submitted to the Coordinator within 30 days of repatriation.
6. The location of the discovery of Remains that are to be protected in place will be protected to the extent allowed by law, and will not be included in any public or professional publications having an unrestricted distribution.
7. All Tribes reserve the right to participate in further planning and implementation of activities, including reburial, under this agreement, after notice to the SRPMIC or GRIC, or Fort McDowell when the Remains may be Apache in origin.
8. The City of Phoenix will turn over to the SRPMIC or GRIC all Remains of relevant cultural affiliation that are removed from the project area. Remains may be temporarily inventoried and stored in local archaeological laboratory facilities, but will be made available to the SRPMIC or GRIC for repatriation within a specified period after completion of fieldwork, to be negotiated

between the SRPMIC or GRIC and the City of Phoenix in each case.

9. An inventory and report of Remains encountered and their disposition (including inventory of remains and associated objects and maps and photographs, as specified in the Rules implementing A.R.S. §41-844 and 41-865) will be submitted to the Coordinator and to the Tribes by the City of Phoenix.

III. DISPUTE RESOLUTION

All disputes shall be resolved in accordance with ARS §41-844 and 41-865 and the procedures set forth in the Rules implementing that statute and Guidelines current at the time of the dispute. Such disputes shall not interfere with or delay ongoing archaeological or construction work in the project area. If the nature of the dispute does not involve issues of cultural affiliation, the dispute will not delay repatriation of Remains.

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